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Elementary Classics

HERODOTUS

SECOND PERSIAN WAR

A. H. COOKE B. A.

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Elementary Classics.

HERODOTUS.

THE SECOND PERSIAN WAR.

Edited for the use of the Lower Classes in Schools,

BY

A. H. COOKE, B.A.

FELLOW AND ASSISTANT LECTURER, KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

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1879

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INTRODUCTION.

THE invasion of Greece by Xerxes was a legacy left him by his father Darius. Some years before (about B.C. 502—495), the Ionic Greeks, who lived on the west coast of Asia Minor, had revolted from the dominion of Persia, and had only been reconquered with much difficulty. During the war, they had received help from their kinsmen the Athenians, who sent a fleet across the Aegean, and burned Sardis, the chief city of Lydia.

Darius was extremely enraged at this insult, and vowed vengeance. A fleet was despatched against Greece under the command of Mardonius, but while doubling the promontory of Mt. Athos, in Thrace, it was caught by a terrible storm and utterly wrecked.

Nothing daunted by this reverse, Darius despatched a second expedition under Datis and Artaphernes, which struck straight across the Aegean, and eventually landed at Marathon, about 15 miles from Athens. There the Persians were met by the Athenians and Plataeans under Miltiades, and utterly defeated (B.C. 490).

In spite of this second failure, it was death alone that prevented Darius from leading a third expedition in person against Athens. His son Xerxes, however, undertook the task, and started from Sardis, several

years having been occupied in preparation, in the early spring of B.C. 480.

The war which ensued, generally known as the Second Persian War, was a genuine struggle between Asiatic and European civilisation, between numbers and despotism on the one hand, and courage and freedom on the other. It was not, like the war of ten years before, a matter of a single battle, the result of which might readily be ascribed to chance, but a fair measurement of strength on both sides. And we must not forget that freedom was very nearly being vanquished. In spite of the extraordinary amount of luck which attended the Greeks, the frequent shattering of the Persian fleet by storms, and the delays caused to the invaders by the mountain barriers which opposed them, the ultimate fate of Hellas long hung in the balance.

We see from this how great is the power possessed by a single master-mind, directing all its efforts to the attainment of a single object. Xerxes, however much of a coward he may himself have been, and however unwieldy his force was, steadily pushed it to one end —the destruction of Athens. That once accomplished, it no doubt seemed hardly worth while to return without completing the subjugation of Greece, and so he marched on to the Peloponnesus.

The weakness of the Greeks is evident from many points of view. The states are torn by petty jealousies, instead of heartily co-operating for the common good; those immediately in the invader's path submit at once, and either allow him a free passage through their land, or join his ranks themselves. But it is not till we get to the concentration of the allied fleet at Salamis, after the burning of Athens, that we see how

great the danger was, and how little the Greeks realised the proper way to meet it. All are for themselves, none for the general weal. We are the less surprised at this when we remember that there was nothing like a federal union for mutual defence existing among the Greek states. The feuds of race and tribe ran very high, and could not be forgotten even in such a danger as now confronted them. But a mind that seems almost strangely in advance of the intellects of his day saw a desperate, but the only, solution of the difficulty, and by a stratagem which, if unsuccessful, would have covered him who devised it with infamy, gave to Persia the opportunity she mistakenly desired, and to Greece, in spite of herself, a decisive victory.

The chief peculiarities of the verbal forms of Herodotus (Ionic) compared with those of the Attic dialect.

Present ...	φαίνεαι περιέχεαι προσφέρεαι	-εαι = Attic -ει.
Future......	ἔσεαι καταπροΐξεαι ζημιώσεαι	-εαι = Attic -ει.
Imperfect	ἐγένεο ἐπηγγέλλεο	-εο = Attic -ου.
Aorist I. ...	ἐβουλεύσαο[1] ὑπεθήκαο ἐργάσαο	-αο = Attic -ω.
Aorist II....	ἀπικέατο	-έατο = Attic -οντο.

[1] ἐπίσταο Imperative = Att. ἐπίστω.

Imperfect	ἐδυνέατο ἠπιστέατο κατιστέατο	-έατο = Attic -αντο.
Pluperfect Passive ...	ὡρμέατο ἐπεκέατο	-έατο = Attic -ῆντο. -έατο = Attic -εῖντο.
Optative ...	γινοίατο[1] πυνθανοίατο	-οίατο = Attic -οιντο.
Pluperfect	ἀκηκόεε ὀπώπεε συνεστήκεε	-εε = Attic -ει.

Perfect ... ἀπίκαται = Attic ἀφιγμένοι εἰσί.

Pluperfect	ἀπίκατο ἐτετάχατο παρεσκευάδατο	= Attic	ἀφιγμένοι τεταγμένοι παρεσκευασμένοι	ἦσαν.

In	ὁρμεώμενοι[2] πειρεώμενοι παραχρεώμενοι ὁρέοντες ἐχρέωντο	-εω- (-εο-) takes the place of Attic -αο-.
In the Subjunctives.........	ὑπεκθέωνται ὀφθέωσι ἀπιέωσι	ε is inserted before the long vowel.

ἐπιτιθεῖ (vii. 35) = Attic ἐπιτίθησι.

In	ποιεύμενος ἐτράπευ προηγεῦντο καλεύμενοι ἔθευ	-ευ = Attic -ου.

[1] δυναίατο = Att. δύναιντο.
[2] συμβαλλεόμενον (vii. 4) = Attic συμβαλλόμενον.

ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΠΟΛΥΜΝΙΑ.

VII.

Darius prepares an expedition against Greece. Revolt of Egypt from Persia.

1 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγγελίη ἀπίκετο περὶ τῆς μάχης τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι γενομένης παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον τὸν Ὑστάσπεος, καὶ πρὶν μεγάλως κεχαραγμένον τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι διὰ τὴν ἐς Σάρδις ἐσβολήν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε πολλῷ τε δεινότερα ἐποίεε καὶ μᾶλλον ὥρμητο στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. καὶ αὐτίκα μὲν ἐπηγγέλλετο πέμπων ἀγγέλους κατὰ πόλις, ἑτοιμάζειν στρατιήν, πολλῷ πλέω ἐπιτάσσων ἢ πρότερον παρεῖχον, καὶ νέας τε καὶ ἵππους καὶ σῖτον καὶ πλοῖα· τούτων δὲ περιαγγελλομένων, ἡ Ἀσίη ἐδονέετο ἐπὶ τρία ἔτεα, καταλεγομένων τε τῶν ἀρίστων ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευσομένων, καὶ παρασκευαζομένων. τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτεϊ Αἰγύπτιοι, ὑπὸ Καμβύσεω δουλωθέντες, ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Περσέων· ἐνθαῦτα δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ὥρμητο καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρους στρατεύεσθαι.

Death of Darius, and accession of Xerxes.

4 Ἀποδέξας δὲ βασιλέα Πέρσῃσι Δαρεῖος Ξέρξεα, ὅρμητο στρατεύεσθαι· ἀλλὰ γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτά τε καὶ Αἰγύπτου ἀπόστασιν τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτεϊ παρασκευαζόμενον συνήνεικε αὐτὸν Δαρεῖον βασιλεύσαντα τὰ πάντα ἔτεα ἓξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα, ἀποθανεῖν, οὐδέ οἱ ἐξεγένετο οὔτε τοὺς ἀπεστεῶτας Αἰγυπτίους οὔτε Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσασθαι· ἀποθανόντος δὲ Δαρείου, ἡ βασιληΐη ἀνεχώρησε ἐς τὸν παῖδα τὸν ἐκείνου Ξέρξεα.

Xerxes is at first unwilling to attack Greece: counter-advice of Mardonius.

5 Ὁ τοίνυν Ξέρξης ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐδαμῶς πρόθυμος ἦν κατ' ἀρχὰς στρατεύεσθαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἴγυπτον ἐποιέετο στρατιῆς ἄγερσιν· παρεὼν δὲ καὶ δυνάμενος παρ' αὐτῷ μέγιστον Περσέων Μαρδόνιος ὁ Γωβρύεω, ὃς ἦν Ξέρξῃ μὲν ἀνεψιὸς Δαρείου δὲ ἀδελφεῆς παῖς, τοιούτου λόγου εἴχετο, λέγων· "δέσποτα, οὐκ οἰκός ἐστι Ἀθηναίους ἐργασαμένους πολλὰ ἤδη κακὰ Πέρσας, μὴ οὐ δοῦναι δίκας τῶν ἐποίησαν· ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν νῦν ταῦτα πρήσσοις τάπερ ἐν χερσὶ ἔχεις· ἡμερώσας δὲ Αἴγυπτον τὴν ἐξυβρίσασαν στρατηλάτεε ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἵνα λόγος τέ σε ἔχῃ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθὸς καί τις ὕστερον φυλάσσηται ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν στρατεύεσθαι." οὗτος μέν οἱ ὁ λόγος ἦν τιμωρός· τοῦ δὲ λόγου παρενθήκην ποιεέσκετο τήνδε, ὡς ἡ Εὐρώπη περικαλλὴς χώρη, καὶ δένδρεα παντοῖα φέρει τὰ ἥμερα, ἀρετήν τε ἄκρη, βασιλέϊ τε μούνῳ θνητῶν ἀξίη ἐκτῆσθαι.

After Egypt had been subdued, Xerxes called a council of his nobles to discuss the invasion of Greece. Artabanus advised him to decide for himself, but in any case not to lead the army in person.

12 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐλέγετο· μετὰ δὲ, εὐφρόνη τε ἐγίνετο καὶ Ξέρξεα ἔκνιζε ἡ Ἀρταβάνου γνώμη· νυκτὶ δὲ βουλὴν διδοὺς, πάγχυ εὕρισκέ οἱ οὐ πρῆγμα εἶναι στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· δεδογμένων δέ οἱ αὖτις τούτων, κατύπνωσε· καὶ δή κου ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ εἶδε ὄψιν τοιήνδε, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων· ἐδόκεε ὁ Ξέρξης ἄνδρα οἱ ἐπιστάντα μέγαν τε καὶ εὐειδέα εἰπεῖν· "μετὰ δὴ βουλεύεαι, ὦ Πέρσα, στράτευμα μὴ ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προείπας ἀλίζειν Πέρσας στρατόν; οὔτε ὦν μεταβουλευόμενος ποιέεις εὖ, οὔτε ὁ συγγνωσόμενός τοι πάρα· ἀλλ', ὥσπερ τῆς ἡμέρης ἐβουλεύσαο ποιέειν, ταύτην ἴθι τῶν ὁδῶν."

Dream of Xerxes,

13 Τὸν μὲν, ταῦτα εἴπαντα, ἐδόκεε ὁ Ξέρξης ἀποπτάσθαι· ἡμέρης δὲ ἐπιλαμψάσης, ὀνείρου μὲν τούτου λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιέετο, ὁ δὲ Περσέων συναλίσας τοὺς καὶ πρότερον συνέλεξε, ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε. "ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε ὅτι ἀγχίστροφα βουλεύομαι· φρενῶν τε γὰρ ἐς τὰ ἐμεωυτοῦ πρῶτα οὔ κω ἀνήκω, καὶ οἱ παρηγορεύμενοι κεῖνα ποιέειν οὐδένα χρόνον μευ ἀπέχονται· ἀκούσαντι μέντοι μοι τῆς Ἀρταβάνου γνώμης, παραυτίκα μὲν ἡ νεότης ἐπέζεσε, ὥστε ἀεικέστερα ἀπορρίψαι ἔπεα ἐς ἄνδρα πρεσβύτερον

who decides against the invasion.

ᾖ χρεόν· νῦν μέντοι συγγνούς, χρήσομαι τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ· ὡς ὦν μεταδεδογμένον μοι μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἥσυχοί ἐστε."

Second dream of Xerxes.

14 Πέρσαι μὲν ὡς ἤκουσαν ταῦτα, κεχαρηκότες προσεκύνεον· νυκτὸς δὲ γενομένης, αὖτις τὠυτὸ ὄνειρον τῷ Ξέρξῃ κατυπνωμένῳ ἔλεγε ἐπιστάν· "ὦ παῖ Δαρείου, καὶ δὴ φαίνεαι ἐν Πέρσῃσί τε ἀπειπάμενος τὴν στρατηλασίην, καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ ἔπεα ἐν οὐδενὶ ποιεύμενος λόγῳ, ὡς παρ' οὐδενὸς ἀκούσας· εὖ νυν τόδ' ἴσθι, ἤνπερ μὴ αὐτίκα στρατηλατέῃς, τάδε τοι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνασχήσειν· ὡς καὶ μέγας καὶ πολλὸς ἐγένεο ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, οὕτω καὶ ταπεινὸς ὀπίσω κατὰ τάχος ἔσεαι."

He persuades Artabanus to take his place for one night.

15 Ξέρξης μέν, περιδεὴς γενόμενος τῇ ὄψει, ἀνά τε ἔδραμε ἐκ τῆς κοίτης, καὶ πέμπει ἄγγελον ἐπὶ Ἀρτάβανον καλέοντα· ἀπικομένῳ δέ οἱ ἔλεγε Ξέρξης τάδε· "Ἀρτάβανε, ἐγὼ τὸ παραυτίκα μὲν οὐκ ἐσωφρόνεον, εἴπας ἐς σὲ μάταια ἔπεα χρηστῆς εἵνεκα συμβουλίης· μετὰ μέντοι οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον μετέγνων, ἔγνων δὲ ταῦτά μοι ποιητέα ἐόντα τὰ σὺ ὑπεθήκαο. οὔκων δυνατός τοι εἰμὶ ταῦτα ποιέειν βουλόμενος· τετραμμένῳ γὰρ δὴ καὶ μετεγνωκότι ἐπιφοιτῶν ὄνειρον φαντάζεταί μοι, οὐδαμῶς συνέπαινον ἐὸν ποιέειν με ταῦτα· νῦν δὲ καὶ διαπειλῆσαν οἴχεται· εἰ ὦν θεός ἐστι ὁ ἐπιπέμπων, καί οἱ πάντως ἐν ἡδονῇ ἐστι γενέσθαι στρατηλασίην ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐπιπτήσεται καὶ σοὶ τὠυτὸ τοῦτο ὄνειρον ὁμοίως καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐντελλόμενον· εὑρίσκω δὲ ὧδε ἂν γινόμενα ταῦτα, εἰ λάβοις τὴν ἐμὴν σκευὴν πᾶσαν, καὶ ἐνδὺς μετὰ τοῦτο

ἵζοιο ἐς τὸν ἐμὸν θρόνον, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ ἐμῇ κατυπνώσειας.”.........

Appearance of the dream to Artabanus,

17 Τοσαῦτα εἴπας Ἀρτάβανος ἐλπίζων Ξέρξεα ἀποδέξειν λέγοντα οὐδὲν, ἐποίεε τὸ κελευόμενον· ἐνδὺς δὲ τὴν Ξέρξεω ἐσθῆτα καὶ ἱζόμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλήϊον θρόνον, ὡς μετὰ ταῦτα κοῖτον ἐποιέετο, ἦλθέ οἱ κατυπνωμένῳ τὠυτὸ ὄνειρον τὸ καὶ παρὰ Ξέρξεα ἐφοίτα· ὑπερστὰν δὲ τοῦ Ἀρταβάνου, εἶπε τάδε· “ἆρα σὺ δὴ κεῖνος εἶς ὁ ἀποσπεύδων Ξέρξεα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὡς δὴ κηδόμενος αὐτοῦ; ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐς τὸ μετέπειτα, οὔτε ἐς τὸ παραυτίκα νῦν καταπροΐξεαι ἀποτρέπων τὸ χρεὸν γενέσθαι· Ξέρξεα δὲ τὰ δεῖ ἀνηκουστέοντα παθέειν, αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ δεδήλωται.”

who now strongly advises the expedition.

18 Ταῦτά τε δὴ ἐδόκεε Ἀρτάβανος τὸ ὄνειρον ἀπειλέειν, καὶ θερμοῖσι σιδηρίοισι ἐκκαίειν αὐτοῦ μέλλειν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς· καὶ ὃς, ἀμβώσας μέγα, ἀναθρώσκει, καὶ παριζόμενος Ξέρξῃ, ὡς τὴν ὄψιν οἱ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου διεξῆλθε ἀπηγεόμενος, δεύτερά οἱ λέγει τάδε· “ἐγὼ μὲν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, οἷα ἄνθρωπος ἰδὼν ἤδη πολλά τε καὶ μεγάλα πεσόντα πρήγματα ὑπὸ ἡσσόνων, οὐκ ἔων σε τὰ πάντα τῇ ἡλικίῃ εἴκειν, ἐπιστάμενος ὡς κακὸν εἴη τὸ πολλῶν ἐπιθυμέειν, μεμνημένος μὲν τὸν ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας Κύρου στόλον ὡς ἔπρηξε, μεμνημένος δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπ' Αἰθίοπας τὸν Καμβύσεω, συστρατευόμενος δὲ καὶ Δαρείῳ ἐπὶ Σκύθας· ἐπιστάμενος ταῦτα, γνώμην εἶχον, ἀτρεμίζοντά σε μακαριστὸν εἶναι πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων· ἐπεὶ δὲ δαιμονίη τις γίνεται ὁρμὴ, καὶ Ἕλληνας, ὡς ἔοικε.

φθορή τις καταλαμβάνει θεήλατος, ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς τράπομαι καὶ τὴν γνώμην μετατίθεμαι· σὺ δὲ σήμηνον μὲν Πέρσῃσι τὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ πεμπόμενα, χρῆσθαι δὲ κέλευε τοῖσι ἐκ σέο πρώτοισι προειρημένοισι ἐς τὴν παρασκευήν· ποίεε δὲ οὕτω, ὅκως, τοῦ θεοῦ παραδιδόντος, τῶν σῶν ἐνδεήσει μηδέν." τούτων λεχθέντων, ἐνθαῦτα ἐπαρθέντες τῇ ὄψει, ὡς ἡμέρη ἐγένετο τάχιστα, Ξέρξης τε ὑπερετίθετο ταῦτα Πέρσῃσι, καὶ Ἀρτάβανος, ὃς πρότερον ἀποσπεύδων μοῦνος ἐφαίνετο, τότε ἐπισπεύδων φανερὸς ἦν.

It is resolved to dig a canal across the peninsula of Acte: description of the peninsula.

22 Καὶ τοῦτο μέν, ὡς προσπταισάντων τῶν πρώτων περιπλεόντων περὶ τὸν Ἄθων, προετοιμάζετο ἐκ τριῶν ἐτέων κου μάλιστα ἐς τὸν Ἄθων· ἐν γὰρ Ἐλαιοῦντι τῆς Χερσονήσου ὅρμεον τριήρεες· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὁρμεώμενοι, ὤρυσσον ὑπὸ μαστίγων παντοδαποὶ τῆς στρατιῆς· διάδοχοι δ' ἐφοίτων. ὤρυσσον δὲ καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἄθων κατοικημένοι.

The digging of the canal: superior skill of the Phenicians.

23 Ὤρυσσον δὲ ὧδε· δασάμενοι τὸν χῶρον οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ ἔθνεα, κατὰ Σάνην πόλιν σχοινοτενὲς ποιησάμενοι· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο βαθεῖα ἡ διώρυξ, οἱ μέν, κατώτατα ἑστεῶτες, ὤρυσσον· ἕτεροι δὲ παρεδίδοσαν τὸν αἰεὶ ἐξορυσσόμενον χοῦν ἄλλοισι κατύπερθε ἑστεῶσι ἐπὶ βάθρων· οἱ δ' αὖ ἐκδεκόμενοι, ἑτέροισι, ἕως ἀπίκοντο ἐς τοὺς ἀνωτάτω· οὗτοι δὲ ἐξεφόρεόν τε καὶ ἐξέβαλλον. τοῖσι μέν νυν ἄλλοισι, πλὴν Φοινίκων, καταρρηγνύμενοι οἱ κρημνοὶ τοῦ ὀρύγματος πόνον διπλήσιον παρεῖχον· ἅτε γὰρ τοῦ τε ἄνω στόματος καὶ τοῦ κάτω τὰ

αὐτὰ μέτρα ποιευμένων, ἔμελλέ σφι τοιοῦτο ἀποβήσεσθαι· οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες σοφίην ἔν τε τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἔργοισι ἀποδείκνυνται, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳ· ἀπολαχόντες γὰρ μόριον ὅσον αὐτοῖσι ἐπέβαλλε, ὄρυσσον τὸ μὲν ἄνω στόμα τῆς διώρυχος ποιεῦντες διπλήσιον ἢ ὅσον ἔδει αὐτὴν τὴν διώρυχα γενέσθαι· προβαίνοντος δὲ τοῦ ἔργου, συνῆγον αἰεί· κάτω τε δὴ ἐγίνετο, καὶ ἐξισοῦτο τοῖσι ἄλλοισι τὸ ἔργον. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ λειμών ἐστι, ἵνα σφι ἀγορή τε ἐγίνετο καὶ πρητήριον· σῖτος δέ σφισι πολλὸς ἐφοίτα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἀληλεσμένος.

The canal quite unnecessary: simply a monument of Xerxes' power.

24 Ὡς μὲν ἐμὲ συμβαλλεόμενον εὑρίσκειν, μεγαλοφροσύνης εἵνεκα αὐτὸ Ξέρξης ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε, ἐθέλων τε δύναμιν ἀποδείκνυσθαι καὶ μνημόσυνα λιπέσθαι· παρεὸν γὰρ μηδένα πόνον λαβόντας τὸν ἰσθμὸν τὰς νέας διειρύσαι, ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε διώρυχα τῇ θαλάσσῃ, εὖρος ὡς δύο τριήρεας πλέειν ὁμοῦ ἐλαστρευμένας. τοῖσι δὲ αὐτοῖσι τούτοισι, τοῖσί περ καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα, προσετέτακτο καὶ τὸν Στρυμόνα ποταμὸν ζεύξαντας γεφυρῶσαι.

Leaving Susa, Xerxes marched with his army to Sardis.

The bridging of the Hellespont.

33 Οἱ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐζεύγνυσαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην. ἔστι δὲ τῆς Χερσονήσου τῆς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, Σηστοῦ τε πόλιος μεταξὺ καὶ Μαδύτου, ἀκτὴ τραχέα ἐς θάλασσαν κατήκουσα Ἀβύδῳ καταντίον.

34 Ἐς ταύτην ὦν τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐξ Ἀβύδου ὁρμεώμενοι ἐγεφύρουν τοῖσι προσεκέετο, τὴν μὲν λευκολίνου Φοί-

νικες, τὴν δ' ἑτέρην τὴν βυβλίνην Αἰγύπτιοι· ἔστι δὲ ἑπτὰ στάδιοι ἐξ Ἀβύδου ἐς τὴν ἀπαντίον.

The bridges are broken down by a storm: Xerxes scourges the Hellespont.

35 Καὶ δὴ ἐζευγμένου τοῦ πόρου, ἐπιγενόμενος χειμὼν μέγας συνέκοψέ τε ἐκεῖνα πάντα καὶ διέλυσε· ὡς δ' ἐπύθετο Ξέρξης, δεινὰ ποιεύμενος, τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐκέλευε τριηκοσίας ἐπικέσθαι μάστιγι πληγὰς, καὶ κατεῖναι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος πεδέων ζεῦγος. ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα ὡς καὶ στιγέας ἅμα τούτοισι ἀπέπεμψε στίξοντας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον· ἐνετέλλετο δὴ ὦν ῥαπίζοντας λέγειν βάρβαρά τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλα· "ὦ πικρὸν ὕδωρ, δεσπότης τοι δίκην ἐπιτιθεῖ τήνδε, ὅτι μιν ἠδίκησας οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐκείνου ἄδικον παθόν· καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν Ξέρξης διαβήσεταί σε, ἤν τε σύ γε βούλῃ ἤν τε μή· σοὶ δὲ κατὰ δίκην ἄρα οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων θύει, ὡς ἐόντι δολερῷ τε καὶ ἁλμυρῷ ποταμῷ·" τήν τε δὴ θάλασσαν ἐνετέλλετο τούτοισι ζημιοῦν, καὶ τῶν ἐπεστεώτων τῇ ζεύξι τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ἀποταμεῖν τὰς κεφαλάς.

The army marches from Sardis to Abydos: Eclipse of the sun.

37 Ὡς δὲ τά τε τῶν γεφυρέων κατεσκεύαστο καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἄθων, οἵ τε χυτοὶ περὶ τὰ στόματα τῆς διώρυχος, (οἳ τῆς ῥηχίης εἵνεκεν ἐποιήθησαν ἵνα μὴ πίμπληται τὰ στόματα τοῦ ὀρύγματος,) καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ διώρυξ παντελέως πεποιημένη ἄγγελτο· ἐνθαῦτα χειμερίσας, ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι παρεσκευασμένος ὁ στρατὸς ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων ὡρμᾶτο ἐλῶν ἐς Ἄβυδον. ὡρμημένῳ δέ οἱ ὁ ἥλιος ἐκλιπὼν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἕδρην ἀφανὴς ἦν, οὔτ' ἐπινεφέλων ἐόντων, αἰθρίης τε τὰ μάλιστα· ἀντὶ ἡμέρης τε νὺξ

ἐγένετο· ἰδόντι δὲ καὶ μαθόντι τοῦτο τῷ Ξέρξῃ ἐπιμελὲς ἐγένετο· καὶ εἴρετο τοὺς μάγους τὸ θέλοι προφαίνειν τὸ φάσμα; οἱ δὲ ἔφραζον ὡς Ἕλλησι προδεικνύει ὁ θεὸς ἔκλειψιν τῶν πολίων· λέγοντες ἥλιον εἶναι Ἑλλήνων προδέκτορα, σελήνην δὲ σφέων· πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ξέρξης περιχαρὴς ἐὼν ἐποιέετο τὴν ἔλασιν.

Pythius requests Xerxes to allow one of his sons to stay behind.

38 Ὡς δ' ἐξήλαυνε τὴν στρατιὴν, Πύθιος ὁ Λυδὸς καταρρωδήσας τὸ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φάσμα ἐπαρθείς τε τοῖσι δωρήμασι, ἐλθὼν παρὰ Ξέρξεα ἔλεγε τάδε· "ὦ δέσποτα, χρήσας ἄν τι τεῦ βουλοίμην τυχεῖν, τὸ σοὶ μὲν ἐλαφρὸν τυγχάνει ἐὸν ὑπουργῆσαι, ἐμοὶ δὲ μέγα γενόμενον." Ξέρξης δὲ πᾶν μᾶλλον δοκέων μιν χρηΐσειν ἢ τὸ ἐδεήθη, ἔφη τε ὑπουργήσειν καὶ διαγορεύειν ἐκέλευε ὅτευ δέοιτο· ὁ δὲ ἐπεί τε ταῦτα ἤκουσε, ἔλεγε θαρσήσας τάδε· "ὦ δέσποτα, τυγχάνουσί μοι παῖδες ἐόντες πέντε, καί σφεας καταλαμβάνει πάντας ἅμα σοὶ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· σὺ δὲ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐμὲ ἐς τόδε ἡλικίης ἥκοντα οἰκτείρας, τῶν μοι παίδων ἕνα παράλυσον τῆς στρατηΐης τὸν πρεσβύτατον, ἵνα αὐτοῦ τε ἐμεῦ καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ᾖ μελεδωνός· τοὺς δὲ τέσσερας ἄγεν ἅμα σεωυτῷ καὶ πρήξας τὰ νοέεις νοστήσειας ὀπίσω."

Description of the order of march from Sardis—the forces that marched before Xerxes.

40 Ποιησάντων δὲ τούτων τοῦτο, μετὰ ταῦτα διεξήιε ὁ στρατός· ἡγέοντο δὲ πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ σκευοφόροι τε καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια· μετὰ δὲ τούτους στρατὸς παντοίων ἐθνέων ἀναμὶξ, οὐ διακεκριμένοι· τῇ δὲ ὑπερημίσεες

ἦσαν, ἐνθαῦτα διελέλειπτο· καὶ οὐ συνέμισγον οὗτοι βασιλέϊ. προηγεῦντο μὲν δὴ ἱππόται χίλιοι ἐκ Περσέων πάντων ἀπολελεγμένοι· μετὰ δὲ, αἰχμοφόροι χίλιοι, καὶ οὗτοι ἐκ πάντων ἀπολελεγμένοι, τὰς λόγχας κάτω ἐς τὴν γῆν τρέψαντες· μετὰ δὲ, ἱροὶ Νισαῖοι καλεύμενοι ἵπποι δέκα, κεκοσμημένοι ὡς κάλλιστα. Νισαῖοι δὲ καλέονται ἵπποι ἐπὶ τοῦδε· ἔστι πεδίον μέγα τῆς Μηδικῆς τῷ οὔνομά ἐστι Νίσαιον· τοὺς ὦν δὴ ἵππους τοὺς μεγάλους φέρει τὸ πεδίον τοῦτο. ὄπισθε δὲ τούτων τῶν δέκα ἵππων ἅρμα Διὸς ἱρὸν ἐπετέτακτο, τὸ ἵπποι μὲν εἷλκον λευκοὶ ὀκτώ· ὄπισθε δὲ τῶν ἵππων εἵπετο πεζῇ ἡνίοχος, ἐχόμενος τῶν χαλινῶν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ δὴ ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν θρόνον ἀνθρώπων ἀναβαίνει· τούτου δὲ ὄπισθεν αὐτὸς Ξέρξης ἐπ' ἅρματος ἵππων Νισαίων· παραβέβηκε δέ οἱ ἡνίοχος, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Πατιράμφης, Ὀτάνεω παῖς ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω.

41 Ἐξήλασε μὲν οὕτω ἐκ Σαρδίων Ξέρξης· μετεκβαίνεσκε δὲ, ὅκως μιν λόγος αἱρέοι, ἐκ τοῦ ἅρματος ἐς ἁρμάμαξαν. αὐτοῦ δὲ ὄπισθεν αἰχμοφόροι, Περσέων οἱ ἄριστοί τε καὶ γενναιότατοι, χίλιοι, κατὰ νόμον τὰς λόγχας ἔχοντες· μετὰ δὲ, ἵππος ἄλλη χιλίη ἐκ Περσέων ἀπολελεγμένη. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἵππον, ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν Περσέων ἀπολελεγμένοι μύριοι. οὗτος πεζὸς ἦν· καὶ τούτων χίλιοι μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖσι δόρασι ἀντὶ τῶν σαυρωτήρων ῥοιὰς εἶχον χρυσέας, καὶ πέριξ συνεκλήϊον τοὺς ἄλλους. οἱ δὲ εἰνακισχίλιοι ἐντὸς τούτων ἐόντες ἀργυρέας ῥοιὰς εἶχον. (εἶχον δὲ χρυσέας ῥοιὰς καὶ οἱ εἰς τὴν γῆν τρέποντες τὰς λόγχας, καὶ μῆλα οἱ ἄγχιστα ἑπόμενοι

The forces that marched after Xerxes.

Ξέρξῃ.) τοῖσι δὲ μυρίοισι ἐπετέτακτο ἵππος Περσέων μυρίη. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἵππον διέλειπε καὶ δύο σταδίους, καὶ ἔπειτα ὁ λοιπὸς ὅμιλος ἤιε ἀναμίξ.

43 Ἀπικομένου δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Σκάμανδρον, ὃς πρῶτος ποταμῶν ἐπεί τε ἐκ Σαρδίων ὁρμηθέντες ἐπεχείρησαν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἐπέλιπε τὸ ῥέεθρον, οὐδ' ἀπέχρησε τῇ στρατιῇ τε καὶ τοῖσι κτήνεσι πινόμενος· ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς ἀπίκετο Ξέρξης, ἐς τὸ Πριάμου Πέργαμον ἀνέβη, ἵμερον ἔχων θεήσασθαι· θεησάμενος δὲ καὶ πυθόμενος κείνων ἕκαστα, τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ Ἰλιάδι ἔθυσε βοῦς χιλίας, χοὰς δὲ οἱ μάγοι τοῖσι ἥρωσι ἐχέαντο· ταῦτα δὲ ποιησαμένοισι νυκτὸς φόβος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐνέπεσε· ἅμα ἡμέρῃ δὲ ἐπορεύετο ἐνθεῦτεν, ἐν ἀριστερῇ μὲν ἀπέργων Ῥοίτειον πόλιν καὶ Ὀφρύνειον καὶ Δάρδανον, ἥπερ δὴ Ἀβύδῳ ὅμουρός ἐστι, ἐν δεξιῇ δὲ Γέργιθας Τευκρούς.

Xerxes visits Troy, and performs a sacrifice to Athena.

44 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένοντο ἐν Ἀβύδῳ, ἠθέλησε Ξέρξης ἰδέσθαι πάντα τὸν στρατόν· καὶ προεπεποίητο γὰρ ἐπὶ κολωνοῦ ἐπίτηδες αὐτῷ ταύτῃ προεξέδρη λίθου λευκοῦ· ἐποίησαν δὲ Ἀβυδηνοὶ, ἐντειλαμένου πρότερον βασιλέος· ἐνθαῦτα ὡς ἵζετο, κατορῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἠιόνος ἐθηεῖτο καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὰς νέας· θηεύμενος δὲ ἱμέρθη τῶν νεῶν ἅμιλλαν γινομένην ἰδέσθαι· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένετό τε καὶ ἐνίκων Φοίνικες Σιδώνιοι, ἥσθη τε τῇ ἁμίλλῃ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ·

Xerxes reviews his army.

45 Ὡς δὲ ὥρα πάντα μὲν τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀποκεκρυμμένον, πάσας δὲ τὰς ἀκτὰς καὶ τὰ Ἀβυδηνῶν πεδία ἐπίπλεα

He weeps at the sight: Artabanus enquires the reason of his tears.

ἀνθρώπων, ἐνθαῦτα Ξέρξης ἑωυτὸν ἐμακάρισε· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐδάκρυσε.

46 Μαθὼν δέ μιν Ἀρτάβανος ὁ πάτρως, ὃς τὸ πρῶτον γνώμην ἀπεδέξατο ἐλευθέρως οὐ συμβουλεύων Ξέρξῃ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, οὗτος ὡνὴρ φρασθεὶς Ξέρξεα δακρύσαντα εἴρετο τάδε· "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὡς πολὺ ἀλλήλων κεχωρισμένα ἐργάσαο νῦν τε καὶ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον; μακαρίσας γὰρ σεωυτὸν δακρύεις." ὁ δὲ εἶπε· "ἐσῆλθε γάρ με λογισάμενον κατοικτεῖραι ὡς βραχὺς εἴη ὁ πᾶς ἀνθρώπινος βίος, εἰ τούτων γε ἐόντων τοσούτων οὐδεὶς ἐς ἑκατοστὸν ἔτος περιέσται." ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων· "ἕτερα τούτου παρὰ τὴν ζόην πεπόνθαμεν οἰκτρότερα· ἐν γὰρ οὕτω βραχέϊ βίῳ οὐδεὶς οὕτω ἄνθρωπος ἐὼν εὐδαίμων πέφυκε, οὔτε τούτων οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων, τῷ οὐ παραστήσεται πολλάκις καὶ οὐκὶ ἅπαξ τεθνάναι βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ζόειν· αἵ τε γὰρ συμφοραὶ προσπίπτουσαι καὶ αἱ νοῦσοι συνταράσσουσαι καὶ βραχὺν ἐόντα μακρὸν δοκέειν εἶναι ποιεῦσι τὸν βίον· οὕτω ὁ μὲν θάνατος, μοχθηρῆς ἐούσης τῆς ζόης, καταφυγὴ αἱρετωτάτη τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ γέγονε· ὁ δὲ θεὸς γλυκὺν γεύσας τὸν αἰῶνα, φθονερὸς ἐν αὐτῷ εὑρίσκεται ἐών."

Before crossing, Xerxes offers libations to the sun.

54 Ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην παρασκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν διάβασιν· τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ ἀνέμενον τὸν ἥλιον, ἐθέλοντες ἰδέσθαι ἀνίσχοντα, θυμιήματά τε παντοῖα ἐπὶ τῶν γεφυρέων καταγίζοντες καὶ μυρσίνῃσι στορνύντες τὴν ὁδόν· ὡς δ᾽ ἐπανέτελλε ὁ ἥλιος, σπένδων ἐκ χρυσέης φιάλης Ξέρξης ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, εὔχετο πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον, μηδεμίαν οἱ συντυχίην τοιαύτην γενέσθαι ἥ μιν παύσει καταστρέ-

ψασθαι τὴν Εὐρώπην πρότερον ἢ ἐπὶ τέρμασι τοῖσι ἐκείνης γένηται· εὐξάμενος δὲ, ἐσέβαλε τὴν φιάλην ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ χρύσεον κρητῆρα καὶ Περσικὸν ξίφος τὸν ἀκινάκην καλέουσι. ταῦτα οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως διακρῖναι, οὔτε εἰ τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνατιθεὶς κατῆκε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, οὔτε εἰ μετεμέλησέ οἱ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον μαστιγώσαντι καὶ ἀντὶ τούτων τὴν θάλασσαν ἐδωρέετο.

The passage of the Hellespont, which occupies seven days.

55 Ὡς δὲ ταῦτά οἱ ἐπεποίητο, διέβαινον κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἑτέρην τῶν γεφυρέων τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου ὁ πεζός τε καὶ ἡ ἵππος ἅπασα, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὸ Αἰγαῖον τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ ἡ θεραπηΐη· ἡγέοντο δὲ πρῶτα μὲν οἱ μύριοι Πέρσαι ἐστεφανωμένοι πάντες, μετὰ δὲ τούτους ὁ σύμμικτος στρατὸς παντοίων ἐθνέων. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην οὗτοι· τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ, πρῶτοι μὲν οἵ τε ἱππόται καὶ οἱ τὰς λόγχας κάτω τρέποντες· ἐστεφάνωντο δὲ καὶ οὗτοι· μετὰ δὲ, οἵ τε ἵπποι οἱ ἱροὶ καὶ τὸ ἅρμα τὸ ἱρόν· ἐπὶ δὲ, αὐτός τε Ξέρξης καὶ οἱ αἰχμοφόροι, καὶ οἱ ἱππόται οἱ χίλιοι· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοισι ὁ ἄλλος στρατός· καὶ αἱ νῆες ἅμα ἀνήγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀπεναντίον. ἤδη δὴ ἤκουσα καὶ ὕστατον διαβῆναι βασιλέα πάντων.

56 Ξέρξης δὲ ἐπεί τε διέβη ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐθηεῖτο τὸν στρατὸν ὑπὸ μαστίγων διαβαίνοντα· διέβη δὲ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν ἑπτὰ ἡμέρῃσι καὶ ἐν ἑπτὰ εὐφρόνῃσι, ἐλινύσας οὐδένα χρόνον. ἐνθαῦτα λέγεται, Ξέρξεω ἤδη διαβεβηκότος τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἄνδρα εἰπεῖν Ἑλλησπόντιον· "ὦ Ζεῦ, τί δὴ ἀνδρὶ εἰδόμενος Πέρσῃ καὶ οὔνομα ἀντὶ Διὸς Ξέρξεα θέμενος, ἀνάστατον τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐθέλεις ποιῆσαι ἄγων πάντας ἀνθρώπους; καὶ γὰρ ἄνευ τούτων ἐξῆν τοι ποιέειν ταῦτα."

The numbering of the host.

60 Ὅσον μέν νυν ἕκαστοι παρεῖχον πλῆθος ἐς ἀριθμὸν, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι τὸ ἀτρεκές· οὐ γὰρ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων· σύμπαντος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ πεζοῦ τὸ πλῆθος ἐφάνη ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδες. ἐξηρίθμησαν δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον· συναγαγόντες ἐς ἕνα χῶρον μυριάδα ἀνθρώπων, καὶ συνάξαντες ταύτην ὡς μάλιστα εἶχον, περιέγραψαν ἔξωθεν κύκλον· περιγράψαντες δὲ, καὶ ἀπέντες τοὺς μυρίους, αἱμασιὴν περιέβαλον κατὰ τὸν κύκλον ὕψος ἀνήκουσαν ἀνδρὶ ἐς τὸν ὀμφαλὸν, ταύτην δὲ ποιήσαντες, ἄλλους ἐσεβίβαζον ἐς τὸ περιοικοδομημένον· μέχρις οὗ πάντας τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐξηρίθμησαν· ἀριθμήσαντες δὲ κατὰ ἔθνεα διέτασσον.

Xerxes again reviews both the land and sea forces.

100 Ξέρξης δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἠρίθμησέ τε καὶ διετάχθη ὁ στρατὸς, ἐπεθύμησε αὐτός σφεας διεξελάσας θεήσασθαι· μετὰ δὲ ἐποίεε ταῦτα, καὶ διεξελαύνων ἐπὶ ἅρματος παρὰ ἔθνος ἓν ἕκαστον, ἐπυνθάνετο· καὶ ἀπέγραφον οἱ γραμματισταί· ἕως ἐξ ἐσχάτων ἐς ἔσχατα ἀπίκετο καὶ τῆς ἵππου καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ. ὡς δὲ ταῦτά οἱ ἐπεποίητο, τῶν νεῶν κατελκυσθεισέων ἐς θάλασσαν, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Ξέρξης μετεκβὰς ἐκ τοῦ ἅρματος ἐς νέα Σιδωνίην, ἵζετο ὑπὸ σκηνῇ χρυσέῃ· καὶ παρέπλεε παρὰ τὰς πρώρας τῶν νεῶν, ἐπειρωτῶν τε ἑκάστας ὁμοίως καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ ἀπογραφόμενος· τὰς δὲ νέας οἱ ναύαρχοι ἀναγαγόντες ὅσον τε τέσσερα πλέθρα ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἀνεκώχευον, τὰς πρώρας ἐς γῆν τρέψαντες πάντες μετωπηδὸν, καὶ ἐξοπλίσαντες τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ὡς ἐς πόλεμον· ὁ δ' ἐντὸς τῶν πρωρέων πλέων ἐθηεῖτο καὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ.

Xerxes and his army marched through Thrace, crossed the Strymon, and arrived at Therma in Pieria; the fleet meanwhile passed through the canal and coasted along, anchoring at Therma, to wait for the army.

Halt of the army at Pieria. Return of the heralds from Greece.

131 Ὁ μὲν δὴ περὶ Πιερίην διέτριβε ἡμέρας συχνάς· τὸ γὰρ δὴ οὖρος τὸ Μακεδονικὸν ἔκειρε τῆς στρατιῆς τριτημορίς, ἵνα ταύτῃ διεξίῃ ἅπασα ἡ στρατιὴ ἐς Περραιβούς. οἱ δὲ δὴ κήρυκες οἱ ἀποπεμφθέντες ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπὶ γῆς αἴτησιν ἀπικέατο· οἱ μὲν κεινοί, οἱ δὲ φέροντες γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ.

Names of the Greeks who gave earth and water the oath of the rest against them.

132 Τῶν δὲ δόντων ταῦτα ἐγένοντο οἵδε· Θεσσαλοί, Δόλοπες, Ἐνιῆνες, Περραιβοί, Λοκροί, Μάγνητες, Μηλιέες, Ἀχαιοὶ οἱ Φθιῶται, καὶ Θηβαῖοι, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Βοιωτοὶ πλὴν Θεσπιέων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων. ἐπὶ τούτοισι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔταμον ὅρκιον οἱ τῷ βαρβάρῳ πόλεμον ἀειράμενοι· τὸ δὲ ὅρκιον ὧδε εἶχε· "ὅσοι τῷ Πέρσῃ ἔδοσάν σφεας αὐτοὺς Ἕλληνες ἐόντες, μὴ ἀναγκασθέντες, καταστάντων σφι εὖ τῶν πρηγμάτων, τούτους δεκατεῦσαι τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεῷ·" τὸ μὲν δὴ ὅρκιον ὧδε εἶχε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι.

133 Ἐς δὲ Ἀθήνας καὶ Σπάρτην οὐκ ἀπέπεμψε ὁ Πέρσης ἐπὶ γῆς αἴτησιν κήρυκας τῶνδε εἵνεκα· πρότερον Δαρείου πέμψαντος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν τοὺς αἰτέοντας ἐς τὸ βάραθρον οἱ δὲ ἐς φρέαρ ἐσβαλόντες, ἐκέλευον γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκ τούτων φέρειν παρὰ βασιλέα· τούτων μὲν εἵνεκα οὐκ ἔπεμψε Ξέρξης τοὺς αἰτήσοντας. ὅ τι δὲ τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ταῦτα ποιήσασι

τοὺς κήρυκας συνήνεικε ἀνεθέλητον γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι, πλὴν ὅτι σφέων ἡ χώρη καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐδηιώθη· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο οὐ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην δοκέω γενέσθαι.

138 Ἡ δὲ στρατηλασίη ἡ βασιλέος οὔνομα μὲν εἶχε ὡς ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐλαύνει, κατίετο δὲ ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα· πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα πρὸ πολλοῦ οἱ Ἕλληνες, οὐκ ἐν ὁμοίῳ πάντες ἐποιεῦντο· οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν δόντες γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ τῷ Πέρσῃ εἶχον θάρσος ὡς οὐδὲν πεισόμενοι ἄχαρι πρὸς τοῦ βαρβάρου· οἱ δὲ οὐ δόντες ἐν δείματι μεγάλῳ κατέστασαν, ἅτε οὔτε νεῶν ἐουσέων ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀριθμὸν ἀξιομάχων δέκεσθαι τὸν ἐπιόντα, οὔτε βουλομένων τῶν πολλῶν ἀντάπτεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου, μηδιζόντων δὲ προθύμως.

The Athenians had sent to enquire of Apollo at Delphi: his unfavourable reply.

140 Πέμψαντες γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρόπους, χρηστηριάζεσθαι ἦσαν ἕτοιμοι· καί σφι ποιήσασι περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὰ νομιζόμενα, ὡς ἐς τὸ μέγαρον ἐσελθόντες ἵζοντο, χρᾷ ἡ Πυθίη τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Ἀριστονίκη τάδε·

Ὦ μέλεοι, τί κάθησθε; λιπὼν φεῦγ' ἔσχατα γαίης
δώματα καὶ πόλιος τροχοειδέος ἄκρα κάρηνα.
οὔτε γὰρ ἡ κεφαλὴ μένει ἔμπεδον, οὔτε τὸ σῶμα,
οὔτε πόδες νέατοι, οὔτ' ὦν χέρες, οὔτε τι μέσσης
λείπεται, ἀλλ' ἄζηλα πέλει· κατὰ γάρ μιν ἐρείπει
πῦρ τε καὶ ὀξὺς Ἄρης Συριηγενὲς ἅρμα διώκων.
πολλὰ δὲ κἄλλ' ἀπολεῖ πυργώματα, κοὐ τὸ σὸν οἶον·
πολλοὺς δ' ἀθανάτων νηοὺς μαλερῷ πυρὶ δώσει,
οἵ που νῦν ἱδρῶτι ῥεούμενοι ἑστήκασι,
δείματι παλλόμενοι· κατὰ δ' ἀκροτάτοις ὀρόφοισι
αἷμα μέλαν κέχυται, προϊδὸν κακότητος ἀνάγκας.
ἀλλ' ἴτον ἐξ ἀδύτοιο, κακοῖς δ' ἐπικίδνατε θυμόν.

Dejection of the Athenians: they enquire again,

141 Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων θεοπρόποι συμφορῇ τῇ μεγίστῃ ἐχρέωντο· προβάλλουσι δὲ σφέας αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ τοῦ κεχρησμένου, Τίμων ὁ Ἀνδροβούλου, τῶν Δελφῶν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ὁμοῖα τῷ μάλιστα, συνεβούλευέ σφι ἱκετηρίην λαβοῦσι, δεύτερα αὖτις ἐλθόντας χρᾶσθαι τῷ χρηστηρίῳ ὡς ἱκέτας· πειθομένοισι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι, καὶ λέγουσι· "ὦναξ, χρῆσον ἡμῖν ἄμεινόν τι περὶ τῆς πατρίδος, αἰδεσθεὶς τὰς ἱκετηρίας τάσδε τάς τοι ἥκομεν φέροντες· ἢ οὔ τοι ἄπιμεν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ τῇδε μενέομεν, ἔστ' ἂν καὶ τελευτήσωμεν·" ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσι ἡ πρόμαντις χρᾷ δεύτερα τάδε·

Οὐ δύναται Παλλὰς Δί' Ὀλύμπιον ἐξιλάσασθαι,
λισσομένη πολλοῖσι λόγοις καὶ μήτιδι πυκνῇ.
σοὶ δὲ τόδ' αὖτις ἔπος ἐρέω, Ἀδάμαντι πελάσσας·
τῶν ἄλλων γὰρ ἁλισκομένων, ὅσα Κέκροπος οὖρος
ἐντὸς ἔχει κευθμών τε Κιθαιρῶνος ζαθέοιο,
τεῖχος Τριτογενεῖ ξύλινον διδοῖ εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς
μοῦνον ἀπόρθητον τελέθειν, τὸ σὲ τέκνα τ' ὀνήσει.
μηδὲ σύ γ' ἱπποσύνην τε μένειν καὶ πεζὸν ἰόντα
πολλὸν ἀπ' ἠπείρου στρατὸν ἥσυχος, ἀλλ' ὑποχωρεῖν
νῶτον ἐπιστρέψας· ἔτι τοι κοτὲ κἀντίος ἔσσῃ.
ὦ θείη Σαλαμίς, ἀπολεῖς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν,
ἤ που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος, ἢ συνιούσης.

with somewhat better success, but cannot agree on the exact meaning of the answer.

142 Ταῦτά σφι ἠπιώτερα γὰρ τῶν προτέρων καὶ ἦν καὶ ἐδόκεε εἶναι, συγγραψάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας· ὡς δὲ ἀπελθόντες οἱ θεοπρόποι ἀπήγγελλον ἐς τὸν δῆμον, γνῶμαι καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ ἐγίνοντο διζη-

μένων τὸ μαντήϊον, καὶ αἵδε συνεστηκυῖαι μάλιστα· τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἔλεγον μετεξέτεροι, δοκέειν σφι τὸν θεὸν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν χρῆσαι περιέσεσθαι· ἡ γὰρ ἀκρόπολις τὸ πάλαι τῶν Ἀθηνέων ῥηχῷ ἐπέφρακτο· οἱ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸν φραγμὸν συνεβάλλοντο τοῦτο τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος εἶναι· οἱ δ᾽ αὖ ἔλεγον τὰς νέας σημαίνειν τὸν θεὸν, καὶ ταύτας παραρτέεσθαι ἐκέλευον τὰ ἄλλα ἀπέντας. τοὺς ὦν δὴ τὰς νέας λέγοντας εἶναι τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος ἔσφαλλε τὰ δύο τὰ τελευταῖα ῥηθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίης·

ὦ θείη Σαλαμὶς, ἀπολεῖς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν,
ἤ που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἢ συνιούσης.

κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ ἔπεα συνεχέοντο αἱ γνῶμαι τῶν φαμένων τὰς νέας τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος εἶναι· οἱ γὰρ χρησμολόγοι ταύτῃ ταῦτα ἐλάμβανον, ὡς ἀμφὶ Σαλαμῖνα δεῖ σφέας ἑσσωθῆναι, ναυμαχίην παρασκευασαμένους.

143 Ἦν δὲ τῶν τις Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ ἐς πρώτους νεωστὶ

Themistocles' interpretation of the term 'wooden wall.'

παριὼν, τῷ οὔνομα μὲν ἦν Θεμιστοκλέης, παῖς δὲ Νεοκλέος ἐκαλέετο· οὗτος ὡνὴρ οὐκ ἔφη πᾶν ὀρθῶς τοὺς χρησμολόγους συμβάλλεσθαι, λέγων τοιάδε· εἰ ἐς Ἀθηναίους εἶχε τὸ πάθος εἰρημένον ἐόντως, οὐκ ἂν οὕτω μιν δοκέειν ἠπίως χρησθῆναι, ἀλλὰ ὧδε· ὦ σχετλίη Σαλαμίς· ἀντὶ τοῦ ὦ θείη Σαλαμίς· εἴπερ γε ἔμελλον οἱ οἰκήτορες ἀμφ᾽ αὐτῇ τελευτήσειν· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους τῷ θεῷ εἰρῆσθαι τὸ χρηστήριον, συλλαμβάνοντι κατὰ τὸ ὀρθὸν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐς Ἀθηναίους, παρασκευάζεσθαι ὦν αὐτοὺς ὡς ναυμαχήσοντας συνεβούλευε, ὡς τούτου ἐόν-

τος τοῦ ξυλίνου τείχεος. ταύτῃ Θεμιστοκλέος ἀποφαινομένου, Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτά σφι ἔγνωσαν αἱρετώτερα εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν χρησμολόγων· οἳ οὐκ ἔων ναυμαχίην ἀρτέεσθαι, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἶναι, οὐδὲ χεῖρας ἀνταείρεσθαι ἀλλὰ ἐκλιπόντας χώρην τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἄλλην τινὰ οἰκίζειν.

By the advice of Alexander of Macedon the Greeks, who had at first intended to defend Thessaly by garrisoning Tempe, retired from that post, finding it could be turned in flank.

The Greeks resolve to hold the pass of Thermopylae.

175 Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐπεί τε ἀπίκατο ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν, ἐβουλεύοντο πρὸς τὰ λεχθέντα ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ᾗ τε στήσονται τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ἐν οἵοισι χώροισι· ἡ νικῶσα δὲ γνώμη ἐγένετο, τὴν ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐσβολὴν φυλάξαι· στεινοτέρη γὰρ ἐφαίνετο ἐοῦσα τῆς ἐς Θεσσαλίην, καὶ μία, ἀγχοτέρη τε τῆς ἑωυτῶν· τὴν δὲ ἀτραπὸν δι᾽ ἣν ἥλωσαν οἱ ἁλόντες Ἑλλήνων ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι, οὐδὲ ᾔδεσαν ἐοῦσαν πρότερον ἤπερ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἐπύθοντο Τρηχινίων· ταύτην ὦν ἐβουλεύσαντο φυλάσσοντες τὴν ἐσβολὴν, μὴ παριέναι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸν βάρβαρον· τὸν δὲ ναυτικὸν στρατὸν πλέειν γῆς τῆς Ἱστιαιώτιδος ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμίσιον· ταῦτα γὰρ ἀγχοῦ τε ἀλλήλων ἐστὶ, ὥστε πυνθάνεσθαι τὰ κατὰ ἑκατέρους ἐόντα.

The Persian fleet arrived off Magnesia.

The Persian fleet suffers severe loss through a violent storm.

188 Ὁ δὲ δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἐπεί τε ὁρμηθεὶς ἔπλεε, καὶ κατέσχε τῆς Μαγνησίης χώρης ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν μεταξὺ Κασθαναίης τε πόλιος ἐόντα καὶ Σηπιάδος ἀκτῆς, αἱ μὲν δὴ πρῶται τῶν νεῶν ὅρμεον πρὸς γῇ, ἄλλαι δ' ἐπ' ἐκείνῃσι ἐπ' ἀγκυρέων· ἅτε γὰρ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἐόντος οὐ μεγάλου, πρόκροσσαι ὁρμέοντο ἐς πόντον, καὶ ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ νέας· ταύτην μὲν τὴν εὐφρόνην οὕτω· ἅμα δὲ ὄρθρῳ, ἐξ αἰθρίης τε καὶ νηνεμίης τῆς θαλάσσης ζεσάσης, ἐπέπεσέ σφι χειμών τε μέγας καὶ πολλὸς ἄνεμος ἀπηλιώτης, τὸν δὴ Ἑλλησποντίην καλέουσι οἱ περὶ ταῦτα χωρία οἰκημένοι. ὅσοι μέν νυν αὐτῶν αὐξόμενον ἔμαθον τὸν ἄνεμον καὶ τοῖσι οὕτω εἶχε ὅρμου, οἱ δ' ἔφθησαν τὸν χειμῶνα ἀνασπάσαντες τὰς νέας, καὶ αὐτοί τε περιῆσαν καὶ αἱ νέες αὐτῶν· ὅσας δὲ τῶν νεῶν μεταρσίας ἔλαβε, τὰς μὲν ἐξέφερε πρὸς Ἰπνοὺς καλεομένους τοὺς ἐν Πηλίῳ, τὰς δὲ ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν· αἱ δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Σηπιάδα περιέπιπτον, αἱ δὲ ἐς Μελίβοιαν πόλιν, αἱ δὲ ἐς Κασθαναίην ἐξεβράσσοντο· ἦν τε τοῦ χειμῶνος χρῆμα ἀφόρητον.

190 Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ νέας οἳ ἐλαχίστας λέγουσι διαφθαρῆναι, τετρακοσιέων οὐκ ἐλάσσονας ἄνδρας τε ἀναριθμήτους, χρημάτων τε πλῆθος ἄφθονον· ὥστε Ἀμεινοκλέϊ τῷ Κρητίνεω ἀνδρὶ Μάγνητι, γηοχέοντι περὶ Σηπιάδα, μεγάλως ἡ ναυηγίη ἐγένετο χρηστή· ὃς πολλὰ μὲν χρύσεα ποτήρια ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ ἐκβρασσό-

μενα ἀνείλετο, πολλὰ δὲ ἀργύρεα· θησαυρούς τε τῶν Περσέων εὗρε, ἄλλα τε χρύσεα ἄφατα χρήματα περιεβάλλετο. (ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν τἆλλα οὐκ εὐτυχέων, εὑρήμασι μέγα πλούσιος ἐγένετο· ἦν γάρ τις καὶ τοῦτον ἄχαρις συμφορὴ λυπεῦσα παιδοφόνος.)

191 Σιταγωγῶν δὲ ὁλκάδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλοίων διαφθειρομένων οὐκ ἐπῆν ἀριθμός· ὥστε δείσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ μή σφι κεκακωμένοισι ἐπιθέωνται οἱ Θεσσαλοί, ἕρκος ὑψηλὸν ἐκ τῶν ναυηγίων περιεβάλοντο· ἡμέρας γὰρ δὴ ἐχείμαζε τρεῖς· τέλος δέ, ἔντομά τε ποιεῦντες καὶ καταείδοντες γόησι τῷ ἀνέμῳ οἱ Μάγοι, πρός τε τούτοισι καὶ τῇ Θέτι καὶ τῇσι Νηριηΐσι θύοντες, ἔπαυσαν τετάρτῃ ἡμέρῃ· ἢ ἄλλως κως αὐτὸς ἐθέλων ἐκόπασε· τῇ δὲ Θέτι ἔθυον, πυθόμενοι παρὰ τῶν Ἰώνων τὸν λόγον, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ χώρου τούτου ἁρπασθείη ὑπὸ Πηλέος, εἴη τε ἅπασα ἡ ἀκτὴ ἡ Σηπιὰς ἐκείνης τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Νηρηΐδων· ὁ μὲν δὴ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐπέπαυτο.

201 Βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Ξέρξης ἐστρατοπεδεύετο τῆς Μηλίδος ἐν τῇ Τρηχινίῃ· οἱ δὲ δὴ Ἕλληνες, ἐν τῇ διόδῳ· (καλέεται δὲ ὁ χῶρος οὗτος ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πλεόνων Ἑλλήνων Θερμοπύλαι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καὶ περιοίκων Πύλαι.) ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο μέν νυν ἑκάτεροι ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι χωρίοισι· ἐπεκράτεε δὲ ὁ μὲν τῶν πρὸς βορῆν ἄνεμον ἐχόντων πάντων μέχρι Τρηχῖνος, οἱ δὲ τῶν πρὸς νότον καὶ μεσαμβρίην φερόντων, τὸ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ἠπείρου.

Advance of the Persian army to Thermopylae: the Greeks are ready to resist it.

202 Ἦσαν δὲ οἵδε Ἑλλήνων οἱ ὑπομένοντες τὸν Πέρσην

The names of the Greek cities who sent contingents to Thermopylae: the whole force is under Leonidas the Spartan.

ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ· Σπαρτιητέων τε τριηκόσιοι ὁπλῖται, καὶ Τεγεητέων καὶ Μαντινέων χίλιοι, ἡμίσεες ἑκατέρων· ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ τε τῆς Ἀρκαδίης εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς λοιπῆς Ἀρκαδίης χίλιοι. τοσοῦτοι μὲν Ἀρκάδων· ἀπὸ δὲ Κορίνθου τετρακόσιοι· καὶ ἀπὸ Φλιοῦντος διηκόσιοι· καὶ Μυκηναίων ὀγδώκοντα. οὗτοι μὲν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου παρῆσαν· ἀπὸ δὲ Βοιωτῶν, Θεσπιέων τε ἑπτακόσιοι καὶ Θηβαίων τετρακόσιοι.

203 Πρὸς τούτοισι ἐπίκλητοι ἐγένοντο Λοκροί τε οἱ Ὀπούντιοι πανστρατιῇ, καὶ Φωκέων χίλιοι. αὐτοὶ γάρ σφεας ἐπεκαλέσαντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, λέγοντες δι᾽ ἀγγέλων ὡς αὐτοὶ μὲν ἥκοιεν πρόδρομοι τῶν ἄλλων, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων προσδόκιμοι πᾶσαν εἶεν ἡμέρην· ἡ θάλασσά τέ σφι εἴη ἐν φυλακῇ, ὑπ᾽ Ἀθηναίων τε φρουρεομένη καὶ Αἰγινητέων καὶ τῶν ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντων, καί σφι εἴη δεινὸν οὐδέν· οὐ γὰρ θεὸν εἶναι τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀλλ᾽ ἄνθρωπον· εἶναι δὲ θνητὸν οὐδένα, οὐδὲ ἔσεσθαι, τῷ κακὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γινομένῳ οὐ συνεμίχθη· τοῖσι δὲ μεγίστοισι αὐτῶν μέγιστα· ὀφείλειν ὦν καὶ τὸν ἐπελαύνοντα, ὡς ἐόντα θνητὸν, ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης πεσέειν ἄν· οἱ δὲ ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι ἐβοήθεον ἐς τὴν Τρηχῖνα.

204 Τούτοισι ἦσαν μέν νυν καὶ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ κατὰ πόλιας ἑκάστων· ὁ δὲ θωμαζόμενος μάλιστα καὶ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος ἡγεόμενος Λακεδαιμόνιος ἦν Λεωνίδης ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδεω.

206 Τούτους μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην πρώτους ἀπέπεμ-

The occurrence of the Olympian festival prevents the cities from sending more men to Thermopylae.

ψαν Σπαρτιῆται, ἵνα τούτους ὁρῶντες οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι στρατεύωνται, μηδὲ καὶ οὗτοι μηδίσωσι, ἢν αὐτοὺς πυνθάνωνται ὑπερβαλλομένους· μετὰ δὲ, Κάρνεια γάρ σφι ἦν ἐμποδὼν, ἔμελλον ὁρτάσαντες καὶ φυλακὰς λιπόντες ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ, κατὰ τάχος βοηθέειν πανδημεί. ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἐνενῶντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ποιήσειν· ἦν γὰρ κατὰ τὠυτὸ Ὀλυμπιὰς τούτοισι τοῖσι πρήγμασι συμπεσοῦσα· οὔκων δοκέοντες κατὰ τάχος οὕτω διακριθήσεσθαι τὸν ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι πόλεμον, ἔπεμπον τοὺς προδρόμους.

207 Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ οὕτω διενενῶντο ποιήσειν· οἱ δὲ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι Ἕλληνες, ἐπειδὴ πέλας ἐγένετο τῆς ἐσβολῆς ὁ Πέρσης, καταρρωδέοντες, ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς· τοῖσι μέν νυν ἄλλοισι Πελοποννησίοισι ἐδόκεε, ἐλθοῦσι ἐς Πελοπόννησον τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἔχειν ἐν φυλακῇ· Λεωνίδης δὲ, Φωκέων καὶ Λοκρῶν περισπερχεόντων τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτῃ, αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἐψηφίζετο πέμπειν τε ἀγγέλους ἐς τὰς πόλιας κελεύοντάς σφι ἐπιβοηθέειν, ὡς ἐόντων αὐτῶν ὀλίγων στρατὸν τῶν Μήδων ἀλέξασθαι.

Astonishment of Xerxes at finding so few men to meet him, and at their boldness. Demaratus tries to explain the reason.

208 Ταῦτα βουλευομένων σφέων, ἔπεμπε Ξέρξης κατάσκοπον ἱππέα, ἰδέσθαι ὁκόσοι τέ εἰσι καὶ ὅ τι ποιέοιεν; ἀκηκόεε δὲ ἔτι ἐὼν ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ, ὡς ἁλισμένη εἴη ταύτῃ στρατιὴ ὀλίγη, καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ὡς εἴησαν Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ Λεωνίδης ἐὼν γένος Ἡρακλείδης· ὡς δὲ προσέλασε ὁ ἱππεὺς πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐθηεῖτό τε καὶ κατώρα πᾶν μὲν οὒ τὸ στρατόπεδον· τοὺς γὰρ ἔσω τεταγμένους τοῦ τείχεος, τὸ ἀνορ-

θώσαντες εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, οὐκ οἷά τε ἦν κατιδέσθαι· ὁ δὲ τοὺς ἔξω ἐμάνθανε τοῖσι πρὸ τοῦ τείχεος τὰ ὅπλα ἔκειτο· ἔτυχον δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔξω τεταγμένοι· τοὺς μὲν δὴ ὥρα γυμναζομένους τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τοὺς δὲ τὰς κόμας κτενιζομένους· ταῦτα δὴ θεώμενος ἐθώμαζε, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐμάνθανε, μαθὼν δὲ πάντα ἀτρεκέως ἀπήλαυνε ὀπίσω κατ' ἡσυχίην· οὔτε γάρ τις ἐδίωκε ἀλογίης τε ἐνεκύρησε πολλῆς· ἀπελθὼν δὲ ἔλεγε πρὸς Ξέρξεα τάπερ ὀπώπεε πάντα.

209 Ἀκούων δὲ Ξέρξης οὐκ εἶχε συμβαλέσθαι τὸ ἐόν, ὅτι παρασκευάζοιντο ὡς ἀπολεύμενοί τε καὶ ἀπολέοντες κατὰ δύναμιν· ἀλλ' αὐτῷ γελοῖα γὰρ ἐφαίνοντο ποιέειν, μετεπέμψατο Δημάρητον τὸν Ἀρίστωνος ἐόντα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ· ἀπικόμενον δέ μιν εἰρώτα Ξέρξης ἕκαστα τούτων, ἐθέλων μαθέειν τὸ ποιεύμενον πρὸς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων· ὁ δὲ εἶπε· "ἤκουσας μέν μευ καὶ πρότερον, εὖτε ὁρμῶμεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων· ἀκούσας δὲ, γέλωτά με ἔθευ λέγοντα τάπερ ὥρων ἐκβησόμενα πρήγματα ταῦτα· ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὴν ἀληθηΐην ἀσκέειν ἀντία σεῦ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀγὼν μέγιστός ἐστι· ἄκουσον δὲ καὶ νῦν· οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι ἀπίκαται μαχεσόμενοι ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς ἐσόδου, καὶ ταῦτα παρασκευάζονται· νόμος γάρ σφι οὕτω ἔχων ἐστί· ἐπεὰν μέλλωσι κινδυνεύειν τῇ ψυχῇ, τότε τὰς κεφαλὰς κοσμέονται· ἐπίσταο δὲ, εἰ τούτους τε καὶ τὸ ὑπομένον ἐν Σπάρτῃ καταστρέψεαι, ἔστι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων τὸ σὲ, βασιλεῦ, ὑπομενέει χεῖρας ἀνταειρόμενον· νῦν γὰρ πρὸς βασιληΐην τε καὶ καλλίστην πόλιν τῶν ἐν Ἕλλησι προσφέρεαι, καὶ ἄνδρας ἀρίστους." κάρτα τε δὴ

ἄπιστα Ξέρξῃ ἐφαίνετο τὰ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ δεύτερα ἐπειρώτα ὅντινα τρόπον τοσοῦτοι ἐόντες τῇ ἑωυτοῦ στρατιῇ μαχέσονται; ὁ δὲ εἶπε· "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐμοὶ χρᾶσθαι ὡς ἀνδρὶ ψεύστῃ, ἢν μὴ ταῦτά τοι ταύτῃ ἐκβῇ τῇ ἐγὼ λέγω."

210 Ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Ξέρξεα· τέσσερας μὲν δὴ παρεξῆκε ἡμέρας, ἐλπίζων αἰεί σφεας ἀποδρήσεσθαι· πέμπτῃ δέ, ὡς οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, ἀλλά οἱ ἐφαίνοντο ἀναιδείῃ τε καὶ ἀβουλίῃ διαχρεώμενοι μένειν, πέμπει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Μήδους τε καὶ Κισσίους θυμωθείς, ἐντειλάμενός σφεας ζωγρήσαντας ἄγειν ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ· ὡς δ' ἐπέπεσον φερόμενοι ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας οἱ Μῆδοι, ἔπιπτον πολλοί· ἄλλοι δ' ἐπεσήϊσαν, καὶ οὐκ ἀπελαύνοντο καίπερ μεγάλως προσπταίοντες· δῆλον δ' ἐποίευν παντί τεῳ καὶ οὐκ ἥκιστα αὐτῷ βασιλέϊ, ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνθρωποι εἶεν ὀλίγοι δὲ ἄνδρες. ἐγίνετο δὲ ἡ συμβολὴ δι' ἡμέρης.

Fruitless attack upon the pass by the Medes.

211 Ἐπεί τε δὲ οἱ Μῆδοι τρηχέως περιείποντο, ἐνθαῦτα οὗτοι μὲν ὑπεξήϊσαν, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐκδεξάμενοι ἐπήϊσαν τοὺς ἀθανάτους ἐκάλεε βασιλεύς, τῶν ἦρχε Ὑδάρνης, ὡς δὴ οὗτοί γε εὐπετέως κατεργασόμενοι· ὡς δὲ καὶ οὗτοι συνέμισγον τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, οὐδὲν πλέον ἐφέροντο τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς Μηδικῆς ἀλλὰ τὰ αὐτά, ἅτε ἐν στεινοπόρῳ τε χώρῳ μαχόμενοι καὶ δόρασι βραχυτέροισι χρεώμενοι ἤπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες πλήθεϊ χρήσασθαι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως λόγου, ἄλλα τε ἀποδεικνύμενοι ἐν οὐκ ἐπισταμένοισι μάχεσθαι ἐξεπιστάμενοι, καὶ ὅκως ἐντρέψειαν τὰ νῶτα, ἀλέες φεύγεσκον

The Persians try, and fare no better.

δῆθεν· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ὁρέωντες φεύγοντας βοῇ τε καὶ πατάγῳ ἐπήϊσαν, οἱ δ' ἂν καταλαμβανόμενοι ὑπέστρεφον ἀντίοι εἶναι τοῖσι βαρβάροισι· μεταστρεφόμενοι δὲ κατέβαλλον πλήθεϊ ἀναριθμήτους τῶν Περσέων· ἔπιπτον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐνθαῦτα ὀλίγοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐδυνέατο παραλαβεῖν οἱ Πέρσαι τῆς ἐσόδου πειρεώμενοι, καὶ κατὰ τέλεα καὶ παντοίως προσβάλλοντες, ἀπήλαυνον ὀπίσω. ἐν ταύτῃσι τῇσι προσόδοισι τῆς μάχης λέγεται βασιλέα θηεύμενον τρὶς ἀναδραμεῖν ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου, δείσαντα περὶ τῇ στρατιῇ.

212 Third attack, with a similar result.

Τότε μὲν οὕτω ἠγωνίσαντο· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίῃ οἱ βάρβαροι οὐδὲν ἄμεινον ἀέθλεον· ἅτε γὰρ ὀλίγων ἐόντων, ἐλπίσαντές σφεας κατατετρωματίσθαι τε καὶ οὐκ οἵους τε ἔσεσθαι ἔτι χεῖρας ἀνταείρασθαι, συνέβαλλον· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες κατὰ τάξις τε καὶ κατὰ ἔθνεα κεκοσμημένοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἐν μέρεϊ ἕκαστοι ἐμάχοντο, πλὴν Φωκέων· οὗτοι δὲ ἐς τὸ οὖρος ἐτάχθησαν φυλάξοντες τὴν ἀτραπόν· ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν εὕρισκον ἀλλοιότερον οἱ Πέρσαι ἢ τῇ προτεραίῃ ἐνώρων, ἀπήλαυνον.

213 Ephialtes informs Xerxes of a path over the mountains, by which the Greeks can be taken in the rear.

Ἀπορέοντος δὲ βασιλέος ὅ τι χρήσεται τῷ παρεόντι πρήγματι, Ἐπιάλτης ὁ Εὐρυδήμου ἀνὴρ Μηλιεὺς ἦλθέ οἱ ἐς λόγους, ὡς μέγα τι παρὰ βασιλέος δοκέων οἴσεσθαι· ἔφρασέ τε τὴν ἀτραπὸν τὴν διὰ τοῦ οὔρεος φέρουσαν ἐς Θερμοπύλας, καὶ διέφθειρε τοὺς ταύτῃ ὑπομείναντας Ἑλλήνων. ὕστερον δὲ δείσας Λακεδαιμονίους ἔφυγε ἐς Θεσσαλίην· καί οἱ φυγόντι ὑπὸ τῶν Πυλαγόρων (τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐς τὴν Πυλαίην συλλεγομέ-

νων) ἀργύριον ἐπεκηρύχθη· χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον, κατῆλθε γὰρ ἐς Ἀντικύρην, ἀπέθανε ὑπὸ Ἀθηνάδεω ἀνδρὸς Τρηχινίου· ὁ δὲ Ἀθηνάδης οὗτος ἀπέκτεινε μὲν Ἐπιάλτεα δι᾽ ἄλλην αἰτίην, τὴν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖσι ὄπισθε λόγοισι σημανέω· ἐτιμήθη μέντοι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων οὐδὲν ἧσσον. Ἐπιάλτης μὲν οὕτω ὕστερον τούτων ἀπέθανε.

A Persian division starts by this path, defeats the Phocians, who were holding it, and appears in the rear of the Greeks.

215 Ξέρξης δὲ, ἐπεί οἱ ἤρεσε τὰ ὑπέσχετο ὁ Ἐπιάλτης κατεργάσεσθαι, αὐτίκα περιχαρὴς γενόμενος ἔπεμπε Ὑδάρνεα, καὶ τῶν ἐστρατήγεε Ὑδάρνης· ὡρμέατο δὲ περὶ λύχνων ἀφὰς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. τὴν δὲ ἀτραπὸν ταύτην ἐξεῦρον μὲν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Μηλιέες, ἐξευρόντες δὲ Θεσσαλοῖσι κατηγήσαντο ἐπὶ Φωκέας τότε, ὅτε οἱ Φωκέες φράξαντες τείχεϊ τὴν ἐσβολὴν ἦσαν ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ πολέμου· ἔκ τε τόσου δὴ κατεδέδεκτο ἐοῦσα οὐδὲν χρηστὴ Μηλιεῦσι.

217 Κατὰ ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἀτραπὸν καὶ οὕτω ἔχουσαν οἱ Πέρσαι τὸν Ἀσωπὸν διαβάντες ἐπορεύοντο πᾶσαν τὴν νύκτα, ἐν δεξιῇ μὲν ἔχοντες οὔρεα τὰ Οἰταίων ἐν ἀριστερῇ δὲ τὰ Τρηχινίων· ἠώς τε δὴ διέφαινε, καὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπ᾽ ἀκρωτηρίῳ τοῦ οὔρεος. κατὰ δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ οὔρεος ἐφύλασσον, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται, Φωκέων χίλιοι ὁπλῖται, ῥυόμενοί τε τὴν σφετέρην χώρην καὶ φρουρέοντες τὴν ἀτραπόν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ κάτω ἐσβολὴ ἐφυλάσσετο ὑπὸ τῶν εἴρηται· τὴν δὲ διὰ τοῦ οὔρεος ἀτραπὸν ἐθελονταὶ Φωκέες ὑποδεξάμενοι Λεωνίδῃ ἐφύλασσον.

218 Ἔμαθον δέ σφεας οἱ Φωκέες ὧδε ἀναβεβηκότας· ἀναβαίνοντες γὰρ ἐλάνθανον οἱ Πέρσαι τὸ οὖρος πᾶν

ἐὸν δρυῶν ἐπίπλεον· ἦν μὲν δὴ νηνεμίη, ψόφου δὲ γινομένου πολλοῦ ὡς οἰκὸς ἦν φύλλων ὑποκεχυμένων ὑπὸ τοῖσι ποσὶ, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον οἱ Φωκέες καὶ ἔδυντο τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ αὐτίκα οἱ βάρβαροι παρῆσαν· ὡς δὲ εἶδον ἄνδρας ἐνδυομένους ὅπλα, ἐν θώματι ἐγένοντο· ἐλπόμενοι γὰρ οὐδέν σφι φανήσεσθαι ἀντίξοον ἐνεκύρησαν στρατῷ· ἐνθαῦτα Ὑδάρνης καταρρωδήσας μὴ οἱ Φωκέες ἔωσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εἴρετο τὸν Ἐπιάλτεα ποδαπὸς εἴη ὁ στρατός; πυθόμενος δὲ ἀτρεκέως, διέτασσε τοὺς Πέρσας ὡς ἐς μάχην· οἱ δὲ Φωκέες, ὡς ἐβάλλοντο τοῖσι τοξεύμασι πολλοῖσί τε καὶ πυκνοῖσι, οἴχοντο φεύγοντες ἐπὶ τοῦ οὔρεος τὸν κόρυμβον, ἐπιστάμενοι ὡς ἐπὶ σφέας ὡρμήθησαν ἀρχὴν, καὶ παρεσκευάδατο ὡς ἀπολεόμενοι· οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐφρόνεον, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἐπιάλτεα καὶ Ὑδάρνεα Πέρσαι Φωκέων μὲν οὐδένα λόγον ἐποιεῦντο, οἱ δὲ κατέβαινον τὸ οὖρος κατὰ τάχος.

222 Οἱ μέν νυν σύμμαχοι οἱ ἀποπεμπόμενοι οἴχοντό τε ἀπιόντες, καὶ ἐπείθοντο Λεωνίδῃ· Θεσπιέες δὲ καὶ Θηβαῖοι κατέμειναν μοῦνοι παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοισι· τούτων δὲ Θηβαῖοι μὲν ἀέκοντες ἔμενον, καὶ οὐ βουλόμενοι· κατεῖχε γάρ σφεας Λεωνίδης ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ ποιεύμενος· Θεσπιέες δὲ ἑκόντες μάλιστα, οἳ οὐκ ἔφασαν ἀπολιπόντες Λεωνίδην καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀπαλλάξεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καταμείναντες συναπέθανον· ἐστρατήγεε δὲ αὐτῶν Δημόφιλος Διαδρόμεω.

The Thespians and Thebans alone remain with the Spartans.

223 Ξέρξης δὲ ἐπεὶ ἡλίου ἀνατείλαντος σπονδὰς ἐποιήσατο, ἐπισχὼν χρόνον, ἐς ἀγορῆς κου μάλιστα πληθώρην πρόσοδον ἐποιέετο· καὶ γὰρ ἐπέσταλτο ἐξ

Renewal of the attack upon the pass: desperate resistance of the Greeks, until they are overwhelmed by numbers and slain.

Ἐπιάλτεω οὕτω· ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ οὔρεος ἡ κατάβασις συντομωτέρη τέ ἐστι, καὶ βραχύτερος ὁ χῶρος πολλὸν, ἤπερ ἡ περίοδός τε καὶ ἀνάβασις. οἵ τε δὴ βάρβαροι οἱ ἀμφὶ Ξέρξεα προσήϊσαν, καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην Ἕλληνες, ὡς τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἔξοδον ποιεύμενοι, ἤδη πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐπεξήϊσαν ἐς τὸ εὐρύτερον τοῦ αὐχένος· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔρυμα τοῦ τείχεος ἐφυλάσσετο, οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ τὰς προτέρας ἡμέρας ὑπεξιόντες ἐς τὰ στεινόπορα ἐμάχοντο. τότε δὴ συμμίσγοντες ἔξω τῶν στεινῶν, ἔπιπτον πλήθεϊ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων· ὄπισθε γὰρ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν τελέων ἔχοντες μάστιγας, ἐρράπιζον πάντα ἄνδρα αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσω ἐποτρύνοντες. πολλοὶ μὲν δὴ ἐσέπιπτον αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ διεφθείροντο· πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνες κατεπατέοντο ζωοὶ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων· ἦν δὲ λόγος οὐδεὶς τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου. ἅτε γὰρ ἐπιστάμενοι τὸν μέλλοντά σφι ἔσεσθαι θάνατον ἐκ τῶν περιϊόντων τὸ οὖρος, ἀπεδείκνυντο ῥώμης ὅσον εἶχον μέγιστον ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, παραχρεώμενοί τε καὶ ἀτέοντες.

224 Δόρατα μέν νυν τοῖσι πλεόνεσιν αὐτῶν τηνικαῦτα ἤδη ἐτύγχανε κατεηγότα, οἱ δὲ τοῖσι ξίφεσι διεργάζοντο τοὺς Πέρσας· καὶ Λεωνίδης τε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ πίπτει, ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἄριστος, καὶ ἕτεροι μετ' αὐτοῦ ὀνομαστοὶ Σπαρτιητέων, τῶν ἐγὼ ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἀξίων γενομένων ἐπυθόμην τὰ οὐνόματα· ἐπυθόμην δὲ καὶ ἁπάντων τῶν τριηκοσίων· καὶ δὴ καὶ Περσέων πίπτουσι ἐνθαῦτα ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ ὀνομαστοὶ, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Δαρείου δύο παῖδες, Ἀβροκόμης τε καὶ Ὑπεράνθης, ἐκ τῆς

Ἀρτάνεω θυγατρὸς Φραταγούνης γεγονότες Δαρείῳ· ὁ δὲ Ἀρτάνης Δαρείου μὲν τοῦ βασιλέος ἦν ἀδελφεὸς, Ὑστάσπεος δὲ τοῦ Ἀρσάμεω παῖς· ὃς καὶ ἐκδιδοὺς τὴν θυγατέρα Δαρείῳ, τὸν οἶκον πάντα τὸν ἑωυτοῦ ἐπέδωκε, ὡς μούνου οἱ ἐούσης ταύτης τέκνου. Ξέρξεώ τε δὴ δύο ἀδελφεοὶ ἐνθαῦτα πίπτουσι μαχεόμενοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ νεκροῦ τοῦ Λεωνίδεω.

225 Περσέων τε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ὠθισμὸς ἐγένετο πολλός· ἐς ὃ τοῦτόν τε ἀρετῇ οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑπεξείρυσαν, καὶ ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς ἐναντίους τετράκις. τοῦτο δὲ συνεστήκεε μέχρι οὗ οἱ σὺν Ἐπιάλτῃ παρεγένοντο. ὡς δὲ τούτους ἥκειν ἐπύθοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη ἑτεροιοῦτο τὸ νεῖκος· ἔς τε γὰρ τὸ στεινὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀνεχώρεον ὀπίσω, καὶ παραμειψάμενοι τὸ τεῖχος ἐλθόντες ἵζοντο ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν πάντες ἀλέες οἱ ἄλλοι, πλὴν Θηβαίων· ὁ δὲ κολωνός ἐστι ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ ὅκου νῦν ὁ λίθινος λέων ἕστηκε ἐπὶ Λεωνίδῃ· ἐν τούτῳ σφέας τῷ χώρῳ ἀλεξομένους μαχαίρῃσι, τοῖσι αὐτῶν ἐτύγχανον ἔτι περιεοῦσαι, καὶ χερσὶ καὶ στόμασι, κατέχωσαν οἱ βάρβαροι βάλλοντες, οἱ μὲν ἐξ ἐναντίης ἐπισπόμενοι καὶ τὸ ἔρυμα τοῦ τείχεος συγχώσαντες, οἱ δὲ περιελθόντες πάντοθε περισταδόν.

226 Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ Θεσπιέων τοιούτων γενομένων, ὅμως λέγεται ἀνὴρ ἄριστος γενέσθαι Σπαρτιήτης Διηνέκης· τὸν τόδε φασὶ εἶπαι τὸ ἔπος πρὶν ἢ συμμίξαι σφέας τοῖσι Μήδοισι, πυθόμενον πρός τευ τῶν Τρηχινίων ὡς ἐπεὰν οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπιέωσι τὰ τοξεύματα, τὸν ἥλιον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθεος τῶν ὀϊστῶν ἀποκρύπτουσι· τοσοῦτό τι πλῆθος

Story of the Spartan Dieneces.

αὐτῶν εἶναι· τὸν δὲ οὐκ ἐκπλαγέντα τούτοισι, εἰπεῖν, ἐν ἀλογίῃ ποιεύμενον τὸ τῶν Μήδων πλῆθος, ὡς πάντα σφι ἀγαθὰ ὁ Τρηχίνιος ξεῖνος ἀγγέλλοι, εἰ ἀποκρυπτόντων τῶν Μήδων τὸν ἥλιον ὑπὸ σκιῇ ἔσοιτο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἡ μάχη, καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἡλίῳ. ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἄλλα τοιουτότροπα ἔπεά φασι Διηνέκεα τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον λιπέσθαι μνημόσυνα.

227 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἀριστεῦσαι λέγονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι δύο ἀδελφεοὶ, Ἀλφεός τε καὶ Μάρων, Ὀρσιφάντου παῖδες. Θεσπιέων δὲ εὐδοκίμεε μάλιστα τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Διθύραμβος Ἁρματίδεω.

228 Θαφθεῖσι δέ σφι αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ τῇπερ ἔπεσον, καὶ τοῖσι πρότερον τελευτήσασι ἢ ὑπὸ Λεωνίδεω ἀποπεμφθέντας οἴχεσθαι, ἐπιγέγραπται γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε·

The epitaphs on the Peloponnesians, the Spartans, and Megistias the seer.

Μυριάσιν ποτὲ τῇδε τριηκοσίαις ἐμάχοντο
ἐκ Πελοποννάσου χιλιάδες τέτορες.

ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖσι πᾶσι ἐπιγέγραπται· τοῖσι δὲ Σπαρτιήτῃσι ἰδίῃ·

Ὦ ξεῖν', ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτι τῇδε
κείμεθα τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι.

Λακεδαιμονίοισι μὲν δὴ τοῦτο· τῷ δὲ μάντι, τόδε·

Μνῆμα τόδε κλεινοῖο Μεγιστία, ὅν ποτε Μῆδοι
Σπερχειὸν ποταμὸν κτεῖναν ἀμειψάμενοι,
μάντιος, ὃς τότε κῆρας ἐπερχομένας σάφα εἰδὼς,
οὐκ ἔτλη Σπάρτης ἡγεμόνας προλιπεῖν.

ἐπιγράμμασι μέν νυν καὶ στήλῃσι, ἔξω ἢ τὸ τοῦ μάντιος ἐπίγραμμα, Ἀμφικτυόνες εἰσί σφέας οἱ ἐπικοσμήσαντες· τὸ δὲ τοῦ μάντιος Μεγιστίεω, Σιμωνίδης ὁ Λεωπρέπεός ἐστι κατὰ ξεινίην ὁ ἐπιγράψας.

ΟΥΡΑΝΙΑ.

VIII.

The Greeks wish to retire from Artemisium, but the Euboeans bribe Themistocles to persuade them to stay.

4 Τότε δὲ οὗτοι οἱ καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον Ἑλλήνων ἀπικόμενοι, ὡς εἶδον νέας τε πολλὰς καταχθείσας ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας καὶ στρατιῆς ἅπαντα πλέα, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖσι παρὰ δόξαν τὰ πρήγματα τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπέβαινε ἢ ὡς αὐτοὶ κατεδόκεον, καταρρωδήσαντες, δρησμὸν ἐβούλευον ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου ἔσω ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα· γνόντες δέ σφεας οἱ Εὐβοέες ταῦτα βουλευομένους, ἐδέοντο Εὐρυβιάδεω προσμεῖναι χρόνον ὀλίγον, ἔστ' ἂν αὐτοὶ τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας ὑπεκθέωνται· ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθον, μεταβάντες τὸν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸν πείθουσι Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπὶ μισθῷ τριήκοντα ταλάντοισι, ἐπ' ᾧ τε καταμείναντες πρὸ τῆς Εὐβοίης ποιήσονται τὴν ναυμαχίην.

Plan of the Persians for circumventing the Greek fleet.

6 Οὕτω δὴ κατέμεινάν τε ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίῃ, καὶ ἐναυμάχησαν. ἐγένετο δὲ ὧδε· ἐπεί τε δὴ ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας περὶ δείλην πρωΐην γινομένην ἀπίκατο οἱ βάρβαροι, πυθόμενοι μὲν ἔτι καὶ πρότερον περὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ναυλοχέειν νέας Ἑλληνίδας ὀλίγας, τότε δὲ αὐτοὶ ἰδόντες, πρόθυμοι

ἦσαν ἐπιχειρέειν, εἴ κως ἕλοιεν αὐτάς. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἀντίης προσπλώειν οὔκω σφι ἐδόκεε τῶνδε εἵνεκα, μή κως ἰδόντες οἱ Ἕλληνες προσπλώοντας ἐς φυγὴν ὁρμήσειαν, φεύγοντάς τε εὐφρόνη καταλάβοι· καὶ ἔμελλον δῆθεν ἐκφεύξεσθαι, ἔδει δὲ μηδὲ πυρφόρον, τῷ ἐκείνων λόγῳ, ἐκφυγόντα περιγενέσθαι.

7 Πρὸς ταῦτα ὦν τάδε ἐμηχανέοντο· τῶν νεῶν ἁπασέων ἀποκρίναντες διηκοσίας περιέπεμπον ἔξωθεν Σκιάθου, ὡς ἂν μὴ ὀφθέωσι ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων περιπλώουσαι Εὔβοιαν κατά τε Καφηρέα καὶ περὶ Γεραιστὸν, ἐς τὸν Εὔριπον· ἵνα δὴ περιλάβοιεν, οἱ μὲν ταύτῃ ἀπικόμενοι καὶ φράξαντες αὐτῶν τὴν ὀπίσω φέρουσαν ὁδὸν, σφεῖς δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι ἐξ ἐναντίης· ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι ἀπέπεμπον τῶν νεῶν τὰς ταχθείσας, αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρης τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἐπιθήσεσθαι, οὐδὲ πρότερον ἢ τὸ σύνθημά σφι ἔμελλε φανήσεσθαι παρὰ τῶν περιπλωόντων ὡς ἡκόντων. ταύτας μὲν δὴ περιέπεμπον· τῶν δὲ λοιπέων νεῶν ἐν τῇσι Ἀφέτῃσι ἐποιεῦντο ἀριθμόν.

News of the plan brought to the Greeks by a diver.

8 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἐν ᾧ οὗτοι ἀριθμὸν ἐποιεῦντο τῶν νεῶν, ἦν γὰρ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τούτῳ Σκυλλίης Σκιωναῖος, δύτης τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἄριστος· ὃς καὶ ἐν τῇ ναυηγίῃ τῇ κατὰ τὸ Πήλιον γενομένῃ πολλὰ μὲν ἔσωσε τῶν χρημάτων τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς περιεβάλετο· οὗτος ὁ Σκυλλίης ἐν νόῳ μὲν εἶχε ἄρα καὶ πρότερον αὐτομολήσειν ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ γάρ οἱ παρέσχε ὡς τότε· ὅτεῳ μὲν δὴ τρόπῳ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη ἀπίκετο ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι ἀτρεκέως·

θωμάζω δὲ εἰ τὰ λεγόμενά ἐστι ἀληθέα· λέγεται γὰρ ὡς ἐξ 'Αφετέων δὺς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, οὐ πρότερον ἀνέσχε πρὶν ἢ ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὸ 'Αρτεμίσιον, σταδίους μάλιστά κῃ τούτους ἐς ὀγδώκοντα διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης διεξελθών. λέγεται μέν νυν καὶ ἄλλα ψευδέσι εἴκελα περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου· τὰ δὲ μετεξέτερα ἀληθέα· περὶ μέντοι τούτου γνώμη μοι ἀποδεδέχθω, πλοίῳ μιν ἀπικέσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ 'Αρτεμίσιον· ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο, αὐτίκα ἐσήμηνε τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι τήν τε ναυηγίην ὡς γένοιτο, καὶ τὰς περιπεμφθείσας τῶν νεῶν περὶ Εὔβοιαν.

They sail out against the Persians,

9 Τοῦτο δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἕλληνες, λόγον σφίσι αὐτοῖσι ἐδίδοσαν· πολλῶν δὲ λεχθέντων, ἐνίκα, τὴν ἡμέρην ἐκείνην αὐτοῦ μείναντάς τε καὶ αὐλισθέντας, μετέπειτα νύκτα μέσην παρέντας, πορεύεσθαι, καὶ ἀπαντᾶν τῇσι περιπλωούσῃσι τῶν νεῶν· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, ὡς οὐδείς σφι ἐπέπλωε, δείλην ὀψίην γινομένην τῆς ἡμέρης φυλάξαντες, αὐτοὶ ἐπανέπλωον ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἀπόπειραν αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι βουλόμενοι τῆς τε μάχης καὶ τοῦ διεκπλόου.

10 'Ορέοντες δέ σφεας οἵ τε ἄλλοι στρατιῶται οἱ Ξέρξεω καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐπιπλώοντας νηυσὶ ὀλίγῃσι, πάγχυ σφι μανίην ἐπενείκαντες, ἀνῆγον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς νέας ἐλπίσαντές σφεας εὐπετέως αἱρήσειν· οἰκότα κάρτα ἐλπίσαντες τὰς μέν γε τῶν 'Ελλήνων ὁρέοντες ὀλίγας νέας, τὰς δὲ ἑωυτῶν πλήθεΐ τε πολλαπλασίας καὶ ἄμεινον πλωούσας· καταφρονήσαντες ταῦτα, ἐκυκλοῦντο αὐτοὺς ἐς μέσον· ὅσοι μέν νυν τῶν 'Ιώνων ἦσαν εὔνοοι τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἀέκοντές τε ἐστρατεύοντο συμφορήν τε ἐποι-

εῦντο μεγάλην, ὁρέοντες περιεχομένους αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπιστάμενοι ὡς οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἀπονοστήσει· οὕτω ἀσθενέα σφι ἐφαίνετο εἶναι τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα· ὅσοισι δὲ καὶ ἡδομένοισι ἦν τὸ γινόμενον, ἅμιλλαν ἐποιεῦντο ὅκως αὐτὸς ἕκαστος πρῶτος νέα Ἀττικὴν ἑλὼν παρὰ βασιλέος δῶρα λάμψεται· Ἀθηναίων γὰρ αὐτοῖσι λόγος ἦν πλεῖστος ἀνὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα.

and engage, without any decided result.

11 Τοῖσι δὲ Ἕλλησι ὡς ἐσήμηνε, πρῶτα μὲν, ἀντίπρωροι τοῖσι βαρβάροισι γενόμενοι ἐς τὸ μέσον τὰς πρύμνας συνήγαγον· δεύτερα δὲ σημήναντος, ἔργου εἴχοντο, ἐν ὀλίγῳ περ ἀπολαμφθέντες καὶ κατὰ στόμα. ἐνθαῦτα τριήκοντα νέας αἱρέουσι τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τὸν Γόργου τοῦ Σαλαμινίων βασιλέος ἀδελφεὸν, Φιλάονα τὸν Χέρσιος, λόγιμον ἐόντα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἄνδρα. πρῶτος δὲ Ἑλλήνων νέα τῶν πολεμίων εἷλε ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος Λυκομήδης Αἰσχρέου, καὶ τὸ ἀριστήϊον ἔλαβε οὗτος. τοὺς δ' ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ταύτῃ ἑτεραλκέως ἀγωνιζομένους νὺξ ἐπελθοῦσα διέλυσε· οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἀπέπλωον, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας πολλὸν παρὰ δόξαν ἀγωνισάμενοι. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ Ἀντίδωρος Λήμνιος, μοῦνος τῶν σὺν βασιλέϊ Ἑλλήνων ἐόντων, αὐτομολέει ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας· καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ χῶρον ἐν Σαλαμῖνι.

Another violent storm shatters both divisions of the Persian fleet.

12 Ὡς δὲ εὐφρόνη ἐγεγόνεε, ἦν μὲν τῆς ὥρης μέσον θέρος, ἐγίνετο δὲ ὕδωρ τε ἄπλετον διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ σκληραὶ βρονταὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πηλίου· οἱ δὲ νεκροὶ καὶ τὰ ναυήγια ἐξεφορέοντο ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας, καὶ περί τε τὰς

πρώρας τῶν νεῶν εἱλέοντο καὶ ἐτάρασσον τοὺς ταρσοὺς τῶν κωπέων. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται οἱ ταύτῃ ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἐς φόβον κατιστέατο, ἐλπίζοντες πάγχυ ἀπολέεσθαι, ἐς οἷα κακὰ ἧκον· πρὶν γὰρ ἢ καὶ ἀναπνεῦσαί σφεας ἔκ τε τῆς ναυηγίης καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος τοῦ γενομένου κατὰ Πήλιον, ὑπέλαβε ναυμαχίη καρτερή· ἐκ δὲ τῆς ναυμαχίης, ὄμβρος τε λάβρος καὶ ῥεύματα ἰσχυρὰ ἐς θάλασσαν ὡρμημένα, βρονταί τε σκληραί. καὶ τούτοισι μὲν τοιαύτη νὺξ ἐγίνετο.

13 Τοῖσι δὲ ταχθεῖσι αὐτῶν περιπλώειν Εὔβοιαν ἡ αὐτή περ ἐοῦσα νὺξ πολλὸν ἦν ἔτι ἀγριωτέρη, τοσούτῳ ὅσῳ ἐν πελάγεϊ φερομένοισι ἐπέπιπτε. καὶ τὸ τέλος σφι ἐγένετο ἄχαρι· ὡς γὰρ δὴ πλώουσι αὐτοῖσι χειμών τε καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπεγίνετο, ἐοῦσι κατὰ τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίης, φερόμενοι τῷ πνεύματι καὶ οὐκ εἰδότες τῇ ἐφέροντο, ἐξέπιπτον πρὸς τὰς πέτρας. ἐποιέετό τε πᾶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅκως ἂν ἐξισωθείη τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ τὸ Περσικὸν, μηδὲ πολλῷ πλέον εἴη.

Another naval engagement took place at Artemisium with no advantage to either side, but the Greeks lost so many ships that they were obliged to retire. Meanwhile the Persian land force advanced by way of Thermopylae through Phocis to Delphi.

The Greek fleet retires to Salamis.

40 Ὁ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου, Ἀθηναίων δεηθέντων, ἐς Σαλαμῖνα κατίσχει τὰς νῆας. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα προσεδεήθησαν αὐτῶν σχεῖν πρὸς Σαλαμῖνα Ἀθηναῖοι, ἵνα αὐτοὶ παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας ὑπεξαγάγωνται ἐκ τῆς

Ἀττικῆς, πρὸς δὲ καὶ βουλεύσωνται τὸ ποιητέον αὐτοῖσι ἔσται. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγμασι βουλὴν ἔμελλον ποιήσεσθαι, ὡς ἐψευσμένοι γνώμης· δοκέοντες γὰρ εὑρήσειν Πελοποννησίους πανδημεὶ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίῃ ὑποκατημένους τὸν βάρβαρον, τῶν μὲν εὗρον οὐδὲν ἐόν, οἱ δὲ ἐπυνθάνοντο τὸν Ἰσθμὸν αὐτοὺς τειχέοντας, καὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον περὶ πλείστου ποιευμένους περιεῖναί τε καὶ ταύτην ἔχοντας ἐν φυλακῇ, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀπιέναι· ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι, οὕτω δὴ προσεδεήθησάν σφεων σχεῖν πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα.

Desertion of Athens by its inhabitants, who take refuge at Aegina, &c.

41 Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι κατέσχον ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῶν· μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἄπιξιν κήρυγμα ἐποιήσαντο, Ἀθηναίων τῇ τις δύναται σώζειν τὰ τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας· ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι ἐς Τροιζῆνα ἀπέστειλαν, οἱ δὲ ἐς Αἴγιναν, οἱ δὲ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα. ἔσπευσαν δὲ ταῦτα ὑπεκθέσθαι, τῷ χρηστηρίῳ τε βουλόμενοι ὑπηρετέειν καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦδε εἵνεκα οὐκ ἥκιστα· λέγουσι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὄφιν μέγαν φύλακα τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ἐνδιαιτέεσθαι ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ· λέγουσί τε ταῦτα καὶ δὴ καὶ ὡς ἐόντι ἐπιμήνια ἐπιτελέουσι προτιθέντες· τὰ δ' ἐπιμήνια μελιτόεσσά ἐστι· αὕτη δ' ἡ μελιτόεσσα, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν αἰεὶ χρόνῳ ἀναισιμουμένη, τότε ἦν ἄψαυστος· σημηνάσης δὲ ταῦτα τῆς ἱρείης, μᾶλλόν τι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ προθυμότερον ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν, ὡς καὶ τῆς θεοῦ ἀπολελοιπυίης τὴν ἀκρόπολιν· ὡς δέ σφι πάντα ὑπεξέκειτο, ἔπλωον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

Xerxes advanced through Boeotia to Athens, which he found almost deserted; after a short siege the citadel was taken and burnt.

The majority of the allies wish to retire to the Isthmus of Corinth.

56 Οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι Ἕλληνες, ὥς σφι ἐξαγγέλθη ὡς ἔσχε τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἀκρόπολιν, ἐς τοσοῦτον θόρυβον ἀπίκοντο ὥστε ἔνιοι τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐδὲ κυρωθῆναι ἔμενον τὸ προκείμενον πρῆγμα, ἀλλ' ἔς τε τὰς νῆας ἐσέπιπτον, καὶ ἱστία ἀείροντο ὡς ἀποθευσόμενοι· τοῖσί τε ὑπολειπομένοισι αὐτῶν ἐκυρώθη πρὸ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ναυμαχέειν· νύξ τε ἐγίνετο, καὶ οἳ, διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, ἐσέβαινον ἐς τὰς νῆας.

Mnesiphilus tries to get Themistocles to prevent this retreat.

57 Ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Θεμιστοκλέα ἀπικόμενον ἐπὶ τὴν νῆα εἴρετο Μνησίφιλος, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, ὅ τι σφι εἴη βεβουλευμένον; πυθόμενος δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ὡς εἴη δεδογμένον ἀνάγειν τὰς νῆας πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν καὶ πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ναυμαχέειν, εἶπε· "οὔτοι ἄρα ἢν ἀπαίρωσι τὰς νῆας ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος, περὶ οὐδεμιῆς ἔτι πατρίδος ναυμαχήσεις· κατὰ γὰρ πόλις ἕκαστοι τρέψονται· καὶ οὔτε σφέας Εὐρυβιάδης κατέχειν δυνήσεται οὔτε τις ἀνθρώπων ἄλλος, ὥστε οὐ μὴ διασκεδασθῆναι τὴν στρατιήν· ἀπολέεταί τε ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀβουλίῃσι. ἀλλ' εἴ τις ἐστὶ μηχανή, ἴθι καὶ πειρῶ διαχέαι τὰ βεβουλευμένα, ἤν κως δύνῃ ἀναγνῶσαι Εὐρυβιάδεα μεταβουλεύσασθαι, ὥστε αὐτοῦ μενέειν."

58 Κάρτα δὴ τῷ Θεμιστοκλέϊ ἤρεσε ἡ ὑποθήκη· καὶ

Themistocles induces Eurybiades to call a council, at which he is rebuked for his importunity.

οὐδὲν πρὸς ταῦτα ἀμειψάμενος, ἤϊε ἐπὶ τὴν νῆα τὴν Εὐρυβιάδεω· ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἔφη θέλειν οἱ κοινόν τι πρῆγμα συμμίξαι· ὁ δ' αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν νῆα ἐκέλευε ἐσβάντα λέγειν εἴ τι θέλει· ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης παριζόμενός οἱ καταλέγει κεῖνά τε πάντα τὰ ἤκουσε Μνησιφίλου, ἑωυτοῦ ποιεύμενος, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ προστιθείς· ἐς ὃ ἀνέγνωσε χρηΐζων ἔκ τε τῆς νηὸς ἐκβῆναι συλλέξαι τε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐς τὸ συνέδριον.

59 Ὡς δὲ ἄρα συνελέχθησαν, πρὶν ἢ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδεα προθεῖναι τὸν λόγον τῶν εἵνεκα συνήγαγε τοὺς στρατηγούς, πολλὸς ἦν ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι, οἷα κάρτα δεόμενος· λέγοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, ὁ Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς Ἀδείμαντος ὁ Ὠκύτου εἶπε· "ὦ Θεμιστόκλεες, ἐν τοῖσι ἀγῶσι οἱ προεξανιστάμενοι ῥαπίζονται·" ὁ δὲ ἀπολυόμενος ἔφη· "οἱ δέ γε ἐγκαταλειπόμενοι οὐ στεφανεῦνται."

Themistocles at length, by threatening to withdraw the whole Athenian fleet, and by a strong personal appeal to Eurybiades, persuaded him to remain and give the Persians battle.

The Greeks send to Aegina for the images of the Aeacidae.

64 Οὕτω μὲν οἱ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα ἔπεσι ἀκροβολισάμενοι, ἐπεί τε Εὐρυβιάδῃ ἔδοξε, αὐτοῦ παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ναυμαχήσοντες· ἡμέρη τε ἐγίνετο, καὶ ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνιόντι σεισμὸς ἐγένετο ἔν τε τῇ γῇ καὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ· ἔδοξε δέ σφι εὔξασθαι τοῖσι θεοῖσι, καὶ ἐπικαλέσασθαι τοὺς Αἰακίδας συμμάχους· ὡς δέ σφι ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίευν ταῦτα· εὐξά-

μενοι γὰρ πᾶσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι, αὐτόθεν μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος Αἴαντά τε καὶ Τελαμῶνα ἐπεκαλέοντο· ἐπὶ δὲ Αἰακὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Αἰακίδας νῆα ἀπέστελλον ἐς Αἴγιναν.

The Peloponnesians fortify the Isthmus.

71 Τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ὁ πεζὸς ὑπὸ τὴν παρεοῦσαν νύκτα ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον· καίτοι τὰ δυνατὰ πάντα ἐμεμηχάνητο, ὅκως κατ' ἤπειρον μὴ ἐσβάλοιεν οἱ βάρβαροι. ὡς γὰρ ἐπύθοντο τάχιστα Πελοποννήσιοι τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδεα ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι τετελευτηκέναι, συνδραμόντες ἐκ τῶν πολίων ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἵζοντο· καί σφι ἐπῆν στρατηγὸς Κλεόμβροτος ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδεω, Λεωνίδεω δὲ ἀδελφεός· ἱζόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ καὶ συγχώσαντες τὴν Σκιρωνίδα ὁδὸν, μετὰ τοῦτο, ὥς σφι ἔδοξε βουλευομένοισι, οἰκοδόμεον διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τεῖχος· ἅτε δὲ ἐουσέων μυριαδέων πολλέων καὶ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐργαζομένου, ἤνετο τὸ ἔργον· καὶ γὰρ λίθοι, καὶ πλίνθοι, καὶ ξύλα, καὶ φορμοὶ ψάμμου πλήρεες ἐσεφορέοντο· καὶ ἐλίνυον οὐδένα χρόνον οἱ βοηθήσαντες ἐργαζόμενοι, οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔτε ἡμέρης.

Fresh dispute among the allies as to the policy of retreating or fighting at Salamis.

74 Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ τοιούτῳ πόνῳ συνέστασαν, ἅτε περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἤδη δρόμον θέοντες, καὶ τῇσι νηυσὶ οὐκ ἐλπίζοντες ἐλλάμψεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ὅμως ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι ἀρρώδεον, οὐκ οὕτω περὶ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι δειμαίνοντες ὡς περὶ τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ· ἕως μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ παραστὰς σιγῇ λόγον ἐποιέετο, θῶμα ποιεύμενοι τὴν Εὐρυβιάδεω ἀβουλίην, τέλος δὲ ἐξερράγη ἐς τὸ μέσον σύλλογός τε δὴ ἐγίνετο, καὶ πολλὰ ἐλέγετο περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν, οἱ μὲν ὡς ἐς τὴν

Πελοπόννησον χρεὸν εἴη ἀποπλώειν, καὶ περὶ ἐκείνης κινδυνεύειν, μηδὲ πρὸ χώρης δοριαλώτου μένοντας μάχεσθαι· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ, καὶ Αἰγινῆται, καὶ Μεγαρέες, αὐτοῦ μένοντας ἀμύνασθαι.

Stratagem of Themistocles who sends a secret message to Xerxes.

75 Ἐνθαῦτα Θεμιστοκλέης, ὡς ἑσσοῦτο τῇ γνώμῃ ὑπὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων, λαθὼν ἐξέρχεται ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου· ἐξελθὼν δὲ πέμπει ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Μήδων ἄνδρα πλοίῳ, ἐντειλάμενος τὰ λέγειν χρεόν· τῷ οὔνομα μὲν ἦν Σίκιννος· οἰκέτης δὲ καὶ παιδαγωγὸς ἦν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος παίδων· τὸν δὲ ὕστερον τούτων τῶν πρηγμάτων Θεμιστοκλέης Θεσπιέα τε ἐποίησε, ὡς ἐπεδέκοντο οἱ Θεσπιέες πολιήτας, καὶ χρήμασι ὄλβιον· ὃς τότε πλοίῳ ἀπικόμενος, ἔλεγε πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων τάδε· "ἔπεμψέ με στρατηγὸς ὁ Ἀθηναίων λάθρῃ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων (τυγχάνει γὰρ φρονέων τὰ βασιλέος, καὶ βουλόμενος μᾶλλον τὰ ὑμέτερα κατύπερθε γίνεσθαι ἢ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα), φράσοντα ὅτι οἱ Ἕλληνες δρησμὸν βουλεύονται καταρρωδηκότες· καὶ νῦν παρέχει κάλλιστον ὑμέας ἔργον ἁπάντων ἐξεργάσασθαι, ἢν μὴ περιΐδητε διαδράντας αὐτούς· οὔτε γὰρ ἀλλήλοισι ὁμοφρονέουσι, οὔτ' ἔτι ἀντιστήσονται ὑμῖν, πρὸς ἑωυτούς τε σφέας ὄψεσθε ναυμαχέοντας τοὺς τὰ ὑμέτερα φρονέοντας καὶ τοὺς μή."

The Persians accordingly block up both openings to the bay of Salamis and occupy Psyttaleia.

76 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτά σφι σημήνας, ἐκποδὼν ἀπαλλάσσετο· τοῖσι δὲ ὡς πιστὰ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἀγγελθέντα, τοῦτο μὲν ἐς τὴν νησίδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν, μεταξὺ Σαλαμῖνός τε κειμένην καὶ τῆς ἠπείρου, πολλοὺς τῶν Περσέων ἀπεβι-

βάσαντο· τοῦτο δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο μέσαι νύκτες, ἀνῆγον μὲν τὸ ἀπ' ἑσπέρης κέρας κυκλούμενοι πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα· ἀνῆγον δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὴν Κέον τε καὶ τὴν Κυνόσουραν τεταγμένοι, κατεῖχόν τε μέχρι Μουνυχίης πάντα τὸν πορθμὸν τῇσι νηυσί· τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκεν ἀνῆγον τὰς νῆας, ἵνα δὴ τοῖσι Ἕλλησι μηδὲ φυγέειν ἐξῇ, ἀλλ' ἀπολαμφθέντες ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι, δοῖεν τίσιν τῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἀγωνισμάτων· ἐς δὲ τὴν νησῖδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν καλεομένην ἀπεβίβαζον τῶν Περσέων, τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὡς ἐπεὰν γένηται ναυμαχίη, ἐνθαῦτα μάλιστα ἐξοισομένων τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυηγίων (ἐν γὰρ δὴ πόρῳ τῆς ναυμαχίης τῆς μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι ἔκειτο ἡ νῆσος), ἵνα τοὺς μὲν περιποιῶσι, τοὺς δὲ διαφθείρωσι· ἐποίευν δὲ σιγῇ ταῦτα, ὡς μὴ πυνθανοίατο οἱ ἐναντίοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τῆς νυκτὸς, οὐδὲν ἀποκοιμηθέντες, παραρτέοντο.

The Greeks meanwhile discovered that their retreat was cut off, so as soon as day dawned they put to sea.

Commencement of the battle in the bay of Salamis.

84 Ἀναγομένοισι δέ σφι αὐτίκα ἐπεκέατο οἱ βάρβαροι· οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ πρύμνην ἀνεκρούοντο καὶ ὤκελλον τὰς νῆας, Ἀμεινίης δὲ Παλληνεὺς, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, ἐξαναχθεὶς νηῒ ἐμβάλλει· συμπλακείσης δὲ τῆς νηὸς καὶ οὐ δυναμένων ἀπαλλαγῆναι, οὕτω δὴ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀμεινίῃ βοηθέοντες συνέμισγον· Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὕτω λέγουσι τῆς ναυμαχίης γενέσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν, Αἰγινῆται δὲ τὴν κατὰ τοὺς Αἰακίδας ἀποδημήσασαν ἐς Αἴγιναν, ταύτην εἶναι τὴν ἄρξασαν· λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε, ὡς φάσμα σφι

γυναικὸς ἐφάνη· φανεῖσαν δὲ διακελεύσασθαι ὥστε καὶ ἅπαν ἀκοῦσαι τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατόπεδον, ὀνειδίσασαν πρότερον τάδε· "ὦ δαιμόνιοι, μέχρι κόσου ἔτι πρύμνην ἀνακρούεσθε;"

86 Περὶ μέν νυν τούτους οὕτω εἶχε· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν νηῶν ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι ἐκεραΐζετο, αἱ μὲν ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων διαφθειρόμεναι αἱ δὲ ὑπὸ Αἰγινητέων· ἅτε γὰρ τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων σὺν κόσμῳ ναυμαχεόντων κατὰ τάξιν, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οὐ τεταγμένων ἔτι, οὔτε σὺν νόῳ ποιεόντων οὐδέν, ἔμελλε τοιοῦτό σφι συνοίσεσθαι οἷόνπερ ἀπέβη· καίτοι ἦσάν γε [καὶ ἐγένοντο] ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην μακρῷ ἀμείνονες αὐτοὶ ἑωυτῶν [ἢ πρὸς Εὐβοίῃ], πᾶς τις προθυμεόμενος καὶ δειμαίνων Ξέρξην· ἐδόκεέ τε ἕκαστος ἑωυτὸν θεήσεσθαι βασιλέα.

Utter defeat of the Persian fleet by the Athenians and Aeginetans.

87 Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἄλλους, οὐκ ἔχω μετεξετέρους εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως, ὡς ἕκαστοι τῶν βαρβάρων ἢ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἠγωνίζοντο· κατὰ δὲ Ἀρτεμισίην τάδε ἐγένετο, ἀπ' ὧν εὐδοκίμησε μᾶλλον ἔτι παρὰ βασιλέϊ· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐς θόρυβον πολλὸν ἀπίκετο τὰ βασιλέος πρήγματα, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἡ νηῦς ἡ Ἀρτεμισίης ἐδιώκετο ὑπὸ νηὸς Ἀττικῆς· καὶ ἥ, οὐκ ἔχουσα διαφυγέειν· ἔμπροσθε γὰρ αὐτῆς ἦσαν ἄλλαι νῆες φίλιαι ἡ δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων μάλιστα ἐτύγχανε ἐοῦσα· ἔδοξέ οἱ τόδε ποιῆσαι, τὸ καὶ συνήνεικε ποιησάσῃ· διωκομένη γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, φέρουσα ἐνέβαλε νηῒ φιλίῃ, ἀνδρῶν τε Καλυνδέων καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπιπλέοντος τοῦ Καλυνδέων βασιλέος Δαμασιθύμου· εἰ μὲν καί τι νεῖκος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγεγόνεε ἔτι περὶ Ἑλλήσ-

Exploit of Queen Artemisia.

ποντον ἐόντων, οὐ μέντοι ἔγωγε ἔχω εἰπεῖν, εἴτε ἐκ προνοίης αὐτὰ ἐποίησε, εἴτε συνεκύρησε ἡ τῶν Καλυνδέων κατὰ τύχην παραπεσοῦσα νηῦς· ὡς δὲ ἐνέβαλέ τε καὶ κατέδυσε, εὐτυχίῃ χρησαμένη, διπλᾶ ἑωυτὴν ἀγαθὰ ἐργάσατο· ὅ τε γὰρ τῆς Ἀττικῆς νηὸς τριήραρχος ὡς εἶδέ μιν ἐμβάλλουσαν νηὶ ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων, νομίσας τὴν νῆα τὴν Ἀρτεμισίης ἢ Ἑλληνίδα εἶναι, ἢ αὐτομολέειν ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἀμύνειν, ἀποστρέψας πρὸς ἄλλας ἐτράπετο.

at which Xerxes is greatly pleased.

88 Τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτο αὐτῇ συνήνεικε γενέσθαι, διαφυγέειν τε καὶ μὴ ἀπολέσθαι· τοῦτο δέ, συνέβη ὥστε κακὸν ἐργασαμένην, ἀπὸ τούτων αὐτὴν μάλιστα εὐδοκιμῆσαι παρὰ Ξέρξῃ· λέγεται γὰρ βασιλέα θηεύμενον μαθεῖν τὴν νῆα ἐμβαλοῦσαν· καὶ δή τινα εἶπαι τῶν παρεόντων· "δέσποτα, ὁρᾷς Ἀρτεμισίην, ὡς εὖ ἀγωνίζεται καὶ νῆα τῶν πολεμίων κατέδυσε;" καὶ τὸν ἐπείρεσθαι, εἰ ἀληθέως ἐστὶ Ἀρτεμισίης τὸ ἔργον; καὶ τοὺς φάναι σαφέως τὸ ἐπίσημον τῆς νηὸς ἐπισταμένους· τὴν δὲ διαφθαρεῖσαν ἠπιστέατο εἶναι πολεμίην· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα, ὡς εἴρηται, αὐτῇ συνήνεικε ἐς εὐτυχίην γενόμενα, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καλυνδικῆς νηὸς μηδένα ἀποσωθέντα κατήγορον γενέσθαι· Ξέρξην δὲ εἶπαι λέγεται πρὸς τὰ φραζόμενα· "οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες γεγόνασί μοι γυναῖκες· αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἄνδρες." ταῦτα μὲν Ξέρξην φασὶ εἶπαι.

Immense loss of the Persians in this battle, as compared with that of the Greeks.

89 Ἐν δὲ τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἀπὸ μὲν ἔθανε ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀριαβίγνης ὁ Δαρείου, Ξέρξεω ἐὼν ἀδελφεός, ἀπὸ δὲ ἄλλοι πολλοί τε καὶ ὀνομαστοὶ Περσέων καὶ Μήδων, καὶ τῶν

ἄλλων συμμάχων· ὀλίγοι δέ τινες καὶ Ἑλλήνων· ἅτε γὰρ νέειν ἐπιστάμενοι, τοῖσι αἱ νῆες διεφθείροντο, καὶ μὴ ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ ἀπολλύμενοι, ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα διένεον· τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οἱ πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ διεφθάρησαν, νέειν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ πρῶται ἐς φυγὴν ἐτράποντο, ἐνθαῦτα αἱ πλεῖσται διεφθείροντο· οἱ γὰρ ὄπισθε τεταγμένοι, ἐς τὸ πρόσθε τῇσι νηυσὶ παριέναι πειρώμενοι, ὡς ἀποδεξόμενοί τι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔργον βασιλέϊ, τῇσι σφετέρῃσι νηυσὶ φευγούσῃσι περιέπιπτον.

Xerxes prepares for instant flight, but carefully conceals his intention.

97 Ξέρξης δὲ ὡς ἔμαθε τὸ γεγονὸς πάθος, δείσας μή τις τῶν Ἰώνων ὑποθῆται τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἢ αὐτοὶ νοήσωσι, πλέειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον λύσοντες τὰς γεφύρας, καὶ ἀπολαμφθεὶς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἀπολέσθαι κινδυνεύσει, δρησμὸν ἐβούλευε· θέλων δὲ μὴ ἐπίδηλος εἶναι μήτε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι μήτε τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ, ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα χῶμα ἐπειρᾶτο διαχοῦν· γαυλούς τε Φοινικηΐους συνέδεε, ἵνα ἀντί τε σχεδίης ἔωσι καὶ τείχεος· ἀρτέετό τε ἐς πόλεμον, ὡς ναυμαχίην ἄλλην ποιησόμενος. ὁρέοντες δέ μιν πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι ταῦτα πρήσσοντα, εὖ ἐπιστέατο ὡς ἐκ παντὸς νόου παρεσκεύασται μένων πολεμήσειν. Μαρδόνιον δ' οὐδὲν τούτων ἐλάνθανε, ὡς μάλιστα ἔμπειρον ἐόντα τῆς ἐκείνου διανοίης.

He sends a message home: description of these Persian messengers.

98 Ταῦτά τε ἅμα Ξέρξης ἐποίεε, καὶ ἔπεμπε ἐς Πέρσας ἀγγελέοντα τὴν παρεοῦσάν σφι συμφορήν. τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἔστι οὐδὲν ὅ τι θάσσον παραγίνεται θνητὸν ἐόν· οὕτω τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ἐξεύρηται τοῦτο. λέγουσι γάρ, ὡς ὅσων ἂν ᾖ ἡμερέων ἡ πᾶσα ὁδὸς

τοσοῦτοι ἵπποι τε καὶ ἄνδρες διεστᾶσι, κατὰ ἡμερησίην ὁδὸν ἑκάστην ἵππος τε καὶ ἀνὴρ τεταγμένος· τοὺς οὔτε νιφετὸς, οὐκ ὄμβρος, οὐ καῦμα, οὐ νὺξ ἐέργει μὴ οὐ κατανύσαι τὸν προκείμενον ἑωυτῷ δρόμον τὴν ταχίστην. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος δραμὼν παραδιδοῖ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα τῷ δευτέρῳ, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος τῷ τρίτῳ· τὸ δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη κατὰ ἄλλον διεξέρχεται παραδιδόμενα, κατάπερ Ἕλλησι ἡ λαμπαδηφορίη, τὴν τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ ἐπιτελέουσι. τοῦτο τὸ δράμημα τῶν ἵππων καλέουσι Πέρσαι ἀγγαρήϊον.

Dismay of the Persians at Susa on receiving the news.

99 Ἡ μὲν δὴ πρώτη ἐς Σοῦσα ἀγγελίη ἀπικομένη, ὡς ἔχοι Ἀθήνας Ξέρξης, ἔτερψε οὕτω δή τι Περσέων τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας, ὡς τάς τε ὁδοὺς μυρσίνῃ πάσας ἐστόρεσαν καὶ ἐθυμίων θυμιήματα, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἐν θυσίῃσί τε καὶ εὐπαθίῃσι· ἡ δὲ δευτέρη σφι ἀγγελίη ἐπεξελθοῦσα συνέχεε οὕτω, ὥστε τοὺς κιθῶνας κατερρήξαντο πάντες, βοῇ τε καὶ οἰμωγῇ ἐχρέωντο ἀπλέτῳ, Μαρδόνιον ἐν αἰτίῃ τιθέντες. οὐκ οὕτω δὲ περὶ τῶν νηῶν ἀχθόμενοι ταῦτα οἱ Πέρσαι ἐποίευν, ὡς περὶ αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ δειμαίνοντες. καὶ περὶ Πέρσας μὲν ἦν ταῦτα τὸν πάντα μεταξὺ χρόνον γενόμενον, μέχρι οὗ Ξέρξης αὐτός σφεας ἀπικόμενος ἔπαυσε.

NOTES.

BOOK VII.

1. 2. **παρὰ**—Radical meaning, 'beside': with the genitive, 'from beside'; *ἀγγελίη ἥκει παρὰ βασιλῆος*, VIII. 140: with the dative, 'rest beside', 'with'; *δυνάμενος παρ' αὐτῷ μέγιστον*, ch. 5: *παρὰ βασιλεῖ εὐδοκίμησε*, VIII. 87: with accusative (1) 'to beside', 'to', as here, (2) motion 'alongside', *παρέπλεε παρὰ τὰς πρώρας*, ch. 100: of time, 'throughout', *παρὰ τὴν ζόην*, ch. 46, (3) 'contrary to', see note on VIII. 4, (4) 'compared with', from the idea of putting things 'alongside'.

4. **κεχαραγμένον**—Lit. 'pointed', 'made sharp', and so here 'exasperated'. Another meaning of the word is 'to scratch', 'furrow', and so 'to engrave' (from which idea comes the English 'character', the stamp or impress a man bears), compare the word *γράφω* (Engl. 'grave') which in Homer means only to scratch or scrape and so afterwards comes to mean to 'write', and the Latin '*exarare*'.

ib. **τὴν ἐσβολὴν**—'*their* attack.' Cf. ch. 41, *ἐπὶ τοῖσι δόρασι*, 'on their spears': ch. 218, *ἔδυντο τὰ ὅπλα*: and the French 'il a *les* yeux noirs'.

6. **δεινότερα ἐποίεε**—Lat. *molestius, aegrius ferre: ποιεῖσθαι* is generally used, cf. ch. 138, *οὐκ ἐν ὁμοίῳ ἐποιεῦντο*: ch. 218 end, *οὐδένα λόγον ἐποιεῦντο*.

ib. **ὅρμητο**—*ὁρμᾶσθαι* in Herod. means (1) to set oneself in motion, to start: *ὁ στρατὸς ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων ὡρμᾶτο*, ch. 37: *ὡρμέατο περὶ λύχνων ἀφὰς*, ch. 215: so *ὁρμώμενος ἐκ* is used of a general 'making a place his headquarters'. (2) With an infinitive, 'to purpose': *νησιωτίδας ὡρμῆτο ποιέειν*, ch. 22: and generally, 'to be eager', as here, and in ch. 19, *ὡρμημένῳ Ξέρξῃ στρατηλατέειν*. The root is AR, to set in motion,

disturb, which takes the forms (1) *αρ*, in *ἀρόω*, *arare*: (2) *ερ*, in *ἐρέσσω*: (3) *ορ*, in *ὀρίνω*, *orior* and *ὁρμάω*.

9. **ἐπιτάσσων**—The ancient Persian system of government closely resembled that of modern Turkey. The monarch was represented in the outlying provinces by viceroys (satraps, pashas), appointed by, and accountable to him alone. These satraps were bound to furnish the king with a fixed annual tribute drawn from the people, but it rested with the king to settle what the amount should be; thus we find Darius here increasing it. The satraps were themselves paid by taxes imposed on their subjects, and were kept from extortion and cruelty by their responsibility to the king. Of course it was the king's interest to keep these powerful servants faithful, and so they were generally members of the royal family of Persia, or connected by marriage with it.

ib. **νέας**—Notice the difference between *νέας* and *πλοῖα*.

11. **'Ασίη**—The term 'Asia' (*ἄσις*, mud) was applied (1) to a small town in Lydia, (2) to the region round it, (3) in an extended sense, to what is now called Asia Minor, (4) to the whole eastern continent. The Roman province of Asia included Mysia, Lydia, Caria and Phrygia: in this sense the term is used in Acts xix. 10, 'all they which dwelt in Asia': *v.* 31, 'certain of the chief of Asia': and in xx. 4, 18.

4. 1. **ἀποδέξας**—'After appointing' (*ἀποδείκνυμι*), cf. ch. 154, *ἀπεδέχθη εἶναι ἵππαρχος*: in ch. 17, 'to point out', *ἐλπίζων Ξέρξεα ἀποδέξειν λέγοντα οὐδέν*: in ch. 139 'to make a display of', *ἀποδεξάμενος ἔργα μέγαλα*: cf. VIII. 89.

2. **ἀλλὰ γὰρ**—'But indeed', cf. ch. 143. *γὰρ* must not always be translated 'for': notice particularly (1) *γὰρ* introducing a story: *λέγουσι γὰρ ὡς...*, VIII. 98: (2) *γὰρ*=(in position) English 'since': *ταῦτα γὰρ ἐδόκεε...ἀπαλλάσσοντο*, ch. 142: *ἀλλ' αὐτῷ γὰρ ἐφαίνοντο γελοῖα ποιέειν...μετεπέμψατο*, ch. 209: (3) *γὰρ*='yes', in replies to questions: *ἐσῆλθε γάρ με κατοικτεῖραι*, ch. 46: (4) *γὰρ* strengthened by *καί*, 'for indeed': *καὶ προεπεποίητο γὰρ προεξέδρη*, ch. 44.

ib. **μετὰ ταῦτα**—The order is *τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτεϊ μετὰ ταῦτα*.

4. **συνήνεικε**—Ionic aorist of *συμφέρω* (Attic *συνήνεγκε*) 'it happened'.

5. **τὰ πάντα**—'In all': *πάντα τὰ ἔτεα* would have meant 'all the 36 years': thus *ἐπρίατο τὰ πάντα ἓξ μέτρα* is, 'he

bought six measures in all'; *ἐπρίατο πάντα τὰ ἓξ μέτρα*, 'he bought all the six measures'.

5. 3. **ἐποιέετο**—Middle voice, 'was causing to be made', cf. ch. 100, *ἀπογραφόμενος*, 'having them written down': *θέμενος οὔνομα*, ch. 56, 'giving thyself the name'.

7. **εἴχετο**—Imperfect, 'kept harping on': *ἔχομαι* with genitive is literally 'to take (part) of', 'to cling to', see note on ch. 40.

8. **οἰκὸς**—Learn at once to distinguish this from *οἶκος*, 'a house'.

9. **μὴ οὐ**—After the preceding negative[1] (*οὐκ οἰκὸς*), *μὴ οὐ* taken together forms a single strong negative: so *οὐ μὴ* in VIII. 57, *οὐ δυνήσεται...ὥστε οὐ μὴ διασκεδασθῆναι.*

ib. **ἐποίησαν**—Not 'have done', but 'did': never translate an aorist by 'have', as if it were a perfect.

13. **τις**—The Greek idiom puts this indefinitely, 'that any man'; we should say, 'that all men may...'.

ib. **φυλάσσηται**—Middle voice again, 'may guard himself', i.e. 'be on his guard'.

14. **οἱ**—'To him', i.e. 'this speech of his': cf. *ἄνδρα οἱ ἐπιστάντα* 'standing over him', ch. 12: *οἱ* is also used as dative of the agent after passive verbs, cf. *δεδογμένων οἱ τούτων*, ch. 12.

15. **ποιεέσκετο**—'Used always to make': cf. *μετεκβαίνεσκε*, ch. 41: *φεύγεσκον*, ch. 211.

17. **ἀρετὴν**—Refers of course to the excellence of the soil.

ib. **βασιλέϊ**—'The Great King': *βασιλεὺς* without the article both in Herod. and Thuc. means *the* King, the Great King of Persia.

ib. **ἐκτῆσθαι**—Perfect infinitive of *κτάομαι* 'I get'; *ἔκτημαι* 'I have got', i.e. 'I possess'. Mardonius looked forward to being satrap of Greece, and so painted it in its brightest colours to Xerxes, to induce him to undertake the invasion.

12. 2. **τε...καὶ**—See note on ch. 23: notice the imperfects.

3. **νυκτὶ βουλὴν διδοὺς**—Either (1) 'taking counsel with himself (sc. *ἑαυτῷ*) by night', or (2) 'entrusting counsel to the night': the former seems preferable.

[1] Goodwin, Greek Moods and Tenses, § 95. 2.

4. **οὐ πρῆγμα εἶναί οἱ**—'That it was not expedient (lit. business, duty) for him': cf. *εὑρισκέ οἱ πρῆγμα εἶναι ἐλαύνειν*, I. 79.

5. **δεδογμένων οἱ**—'Had been decided by him'; lit. 'seemed good to him'.

8. **μετὰ**—is separated from *βουλεύεαι* by the figure called *tmesis* (*τέμνω* 'I cut'), cf. *ἀνά τε ἔδραμον*, ch. 218: *ἀπὸ μὲν ἔθανε ὁ στρατηγὸς*, VIII. 89.

ib. **δὴ**—'Really': *δὴ* always emphasises the sentence or word with which it is joined, cf. above, *καὶ δὴ εἶδε*, 'and verily he saw': *πολλῷ δὴ μέγιστος*, 'quite by far the greatest', ch. 20: also in questions, *τί δὴ ἐθέλεις*, ch. 56, 'why, pray, dost thou wish?': ironically or sarcastically, like *δῆθεν*, cf. *ὡς δὴ κηδόμενος αὐτοῦ*, 'as though you really cared for him!' ch. 17: *ὡς δὴ εὐπετέως κατεργασόμενοι*, 'as though, forsooth, they would easily finish it off', ch. 211.

10. **προείπας**—See note on *πρήξας*, ch. 38.

ib. **ὦν**—Ionic for *οὖν*, 'therefore', to be carefully distinguished from *ὤν*, participle of *εἰμί* 'I am'.

11. **πάρα**—For *πάρεστι*, when thus accentuated: disyllabic prepositions following the word they govern also throw the accent back, while the monosyllable prepositions (*ἐκ*, *εἰς*), which have no accent, take one when thus situated. With *πάρα* (=*πάρεστι*) cf. *ἔνι* (*ἔνεστι*), *μέτα*, *ἔπι*.

12. **τῆς ἡμέρης**—Genitive of time, corresponding to the Latin ablative (*die*, *interdiu*), see note on VIII. 7.

13. 4. **τοὺς**—Just as in English, 'having summoned those (=those whom) he formerly...'; we need not say that the relative is 'omitted' in such cases as these, and that here *τοὺς*=*ἐκείνους οὓς*, the fact being that the demonstrative is quite sufficient to express clearly the author's meaning.

6. **φρενῶν**—The order is *οὔ κω ἀνήκω ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ἐμεωυτοῦ φρενῶν*, 'to the full growth of my mind'.

8. **ἀκούσαντι**—With the genitive, simply 'heard', not 'listened to': compare Acts ix. 7, *ἀκούοντες τῆς φωνῆς* (E.V. 'hearing the voice') with xxii. 9, *τὴν φωνὴν οὐκ ἤκουσαν* ('heard not', i.e. understood not, 'the voice').

11. **συγγνοὺς**—'Acknowledging my error': for the usual meaning of *συγγιγνώσκω* and the other compounds, see note on VIII. 57.

12. **ὡς μεταδεδογμένον**—'Trouble not yourselves, seeing that I have changed my plan, so as not to ...'. For the force of *μετὰ*, cf. *μετὰ δὴ βουλεύεαι*, ch. 12: *μεταβολὴ*, *μεταγιγνώσκω*, *μεταστρέφεσθαι*, ch. 211, 'to wheel about'.

14. 4. **δὴ**—Note on ch. 12.

ib. **φαίνεαι**—*φαίνομαι ὢν*, 'I evidently am': *φαίνομαι εἶναι*, 'I appear to be': so here, 'thou evidently didst reject', 'didst show thyself to reject': cf. *στεινοτέρη ἐφαίνετο ἐοῦσα*, ch. 175, 'it evidently was narrower': but, *τῇ φαίνεται εἶναι ἀληθὲς*, ch. 139, 'in the way it appears to be true': *κάρτα ἄπιστα ἐφαίνετο εἶναι*, ch. 209.

8. **ἀνασχήσειν**—'That these things will happen (lit. arise) to thee from them', i.e. from the *ἔπεα*.

15. 1. **περιδεὴς**—'Very frightened': for this intensive use of *περί*, like the Latin *per*, *perjucundus*, *perpulcher*, &c., cf. *περιχαρὴς*, *περικαλλὴς*, *περιθύμως ἔχειν*, *περιεργάζεσθαι* (to overdo a thing), *περιημεκτεῖν* (to be deeply moved), all in Hdt.

3. **ἐπὶ Ἀρτάβανον**—*ἐπὶ* with accusative denotes 'motion towards' (1) 'to fetch', as here; cf. *πέμπειν ἐπὶ γῆς αἴτησιν*, ch. 131: (2) 'against', *ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους*: (3) adverbially, *ἐπ' ἀμφότερα*, ch. 139, 'in both ways', i.e. 'looking to both sides'.

ib. **καλέοντα**—Future tense, 'to call him'.

8. **οὔκων**—= *οὔκουν*, 'therefore...not', while *οὐκοῦν* = simply 'therefore'.

14. **ὁμοίως...ἐντελλόμενον**—'Laying the same commands on you as on me'.

15. **ἂν γινόμενα**—Translate as if the Greek were *ὅτι ὧδε ἂν γίνοιτο*[1]: cf. note on *χρησθῆναι ἄν*, ch. 143.

17. 1. **ἐλπίζων**—'Hoping to show Xerxes that he spoke to no purpose': with *οὐδὲν λέγειν*, 'to speak foolishly', cf. *λέγειν τι*, 'to say something' (worth hearing), and in Lat. *nil agis*, 'you are trying in vain'.

6. **ἐφοίτα**—'Appeared again and again', cf. *ἐπιφοιτῶν ὄνειρον*, ch. 15. *φοιτάω* (perhaps connected with *οἶτος*, *οἶμος* a path) is used of any recurrent motion, thus in ch. 22, *διάδοχοι δ' ἐφοίτων*, 'they used to come and go by relays': *σῖτος πολλὸς*

[1] Goodwin, § 41.

ἐφοίτα, ch. 23, 'was imported': also of the taxes 'coming in', *τάλαντον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἡμέρης ἑκάστης ἐφοίτα*, v. 17: *οἱ φοιτῶντες* in Plato = 'the schoolboys'.

8. **ὡς δὴ**—'As though really'; note on ch. 12.

10. **ἀποτρέπων**—'For trying to turn aside (present tense) what (*τὸ*) must needs (*χρέον*, sc. *ἐστὶ*) happen': cf. VIII. 75, *τὰ λέγειν χρέον ἐντειλάμενος*.

18. 3. **καὶ ὃς**—'And he': cf. *καὶ οἳ*, VIII. 56: *καὶ ἣ*, VIII. 87. The relative (or referring) pronoun was originally the same as the demonstrative (or pointing out) pronoun, because, when one wanted to refer to something absent, the simplest plan was to use the form which pointed it out when present. So in English, 'that' is both relative and demonstrative, e.g. 'it was not that that persuaded me'.

4. **ἀμβώσας**—For *ἀναβοήσας*: cf. *ἐπεβώθεον* (=*ἐπεβοήθεον*), VIII. 14: *βωθήσαντες*, VIII. 72: *ἐβώσθη* (=*ἐβοάσθη*), VIII. 124.

8. **πεσόντα ὑπὸ**—'Overthrown (lit. fallen) by': cf. *ἀπέθανε ὑπὸ Ἀθηνάδεω*, ch. 213, 'was killed by A.': *τὸν μέλλοντά σφι θάνατον ἔσεσθαι ἐκ τῶν περιϊόντων*, ch. 223.

ib. **ἔων**—Imperfect of *ἐάω*: to be distinguished from *ἐών*, participle of *εἰμί*.

ib. **τὰ πάντα**—Adverbial accusative, 'in everything', lit. 'as to everything', see note on ch. 60.

10. **Κύρου**—Cyrus, king of Persia, father of Cambyses, was defeated and slain by Tomyris, queen of the Massagetae, B.C. 529: he was the Cyrus who (Ezra i. 1, 2) permitted the Jews to return to Jerusalem and rebuild the temple.

11. **στόλον ὡς ἔπρηξε**—'Remembering the expedition, how it fared', i.e. 'remembering how the expedition fared': like *οἶδά σε τίς εἶ*, 'I know who you are': cf. *τὴν ὠφελίην οὐ δύναμαι πυθέσθαι ἥτις ἂν ἦν*, ch. 139, 'I cannot understand what would have been the use': *ἀκηκόεε τοὺς ἡγέμονας ὡς εἴησαν*, ch. 208: *ἐσήμηνε τὴν ναυηγίην ὡς γένοιτο*, VIII. 8.

13. **ἀτρεμίζοντα**—'If you kept quiet', one of the poetical words, of which Herodotus is very fond.

18. **ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ**—'By the god', an Ionic usage of *ἐκ*; cf. *ἐπέσταλτο ἐξ Ἐπιάλτεω*, ch. 223: *τὰ ἐξ ἐκείνου διδόμενα*, VIII. 114. Notice too the usages (2) 'instead of', *ἐξ αἰθρίης...ἐπέπεσε χειμών*, VII. 188: like Sophocles' *τυφλὸς ἐκ δεδορκότος*: (3) 'after', *ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίης*, VIII. 12.

20. **ὅκως τῶν σῶν**—'That none of your things (i.e. that nothing on your part) may be wanting'.

24. **ἐφαίνετο**—'Showed himself': see note on ch. 14.

22. 1. **τοῦτο μὲν**—'First of all', usually (but not here) answered by *τοῦτο δὲ*, 'next'.

ib. **προσπταισάντων**—'Had come to grief'; lit. 'stumbled': cf. ch. 210, *καίπερ μεγάλως προσπταίοντες*. *τῶν πρώτων* refers of course to the previous expedition of Mardonius in 495 against the Athenians and Eretrians, who had helped the Ionians in their revolt against the Persians and had burnt Sardis (v. 99, VII. 1).

2. **προετοιμάζετο ἐς**—'Preparations were being made with regard to'.

3. **μάλιστα**—'For *about* three years before': for *μάλιστα* thus used with numerals, cf. *σταδίους μάλιστά κη τούτους ἐς ὀγδώκοντα*, VIII. 8: *ἐς ἀγορῆς κου μάλιστα πληθώρην* ('just about full market time'), VII. 223.

5. **ὤρμεον**—Distinguish *ὤρμεον* (*ὁρμέω*) from *ὁρμεώμενοι* (*ὁρμάω*).

6. **ὑπὸ μαστίγων**—We are reminded of the Egyptian task-masters in Exodus; cf. chaps. 56 and 223, where the Persians are whipped on by their officers to the battle.

23. 2. **κατὰ Σάνην**—*κατὰ* with accusative: general idea, 'down towards'. Uses in Hdt. (1) motion 'over' or 'along': *διαβάντες κατὰ Βόσπορον*, VII. 20, cf. VII. 55: *διέφθειρε κατ' ὁδὸν*, VIII. 115, 'along the way': (2) of place where or on which: *κατ' ἤπειρον ἐσβαλεῖν*, VIII. 71: *κατὰ μὲν τὴν θάλασσαν ἑσσώμενος*, VIII. 130: (3) over against: *κατὰ Σάνην πόλιν*, VII. 23: (4) distributively: *κατὰ τάξεις καὶ κατὰ ἔθνεα*, VII. 212: *κατὰ πόλις*, VII. 139: *ἐξελέγετο κατ' ὀλίγους*, VIII. 113: (5) purpose 'towards which': *ἀποδημεῖν κατὰ τοὺς Αἰακίδας*, VIII. 84: *κατὰ ἄλλον διεξέρχεται*, VIII. 98: (6) in relation to: *κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἄλλους*, 'with regard to the others': *κατὰ δὴ Ἀρτεμισίην*, VIII. 87: (7) 'according to': *κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα*, VII. 20: 'answering to', note on VII. 142: (8) with substantives, equalling an adverb: *κατὰ τάχος*, VIII. 115: *κατ' ἡσυχίην*: *κατὰ τὸ ὀρθὸν*, &c. This preposition is a great favourite with Hdt., and is used by him in a great variety of ways; in composition with verbs it is exceedingly common, e.g. *καταφρονέω*, *καταινύτω*, *καταρρωδέω*, &c.

ib. **Σάνην πόλιν**—In the preceding chapter it was

πόλις Ἑλλάς, i.e. a Greek colony, as distinguished from a town inhabited by the native Thracians. Thucydides (B.C. 471—401) IV. 109 tells us it was colonised by the Andrians, *πόλεις δὲ ἔχει Σάνην μὲν Ἀνδρίων ἀποικίαν παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν διώρυχα*, a passage which forms a good commentary on *κατὰ Σάνην πόλιν* here.

4. **ἡ διῶρυξ**—Traces of this canal are still to be found in a series of ponds extending across the greater part of the isthmus. The work was not really difficult, the distance across being only 2500 yards, and the ground easy. Juvenal (A.D. 25—105?) disbelieves the whole story: '*creditur olim velificatus Athos et quidquid Graecia mendax audet in historia*,' Sat. x. 173—5.

5. **αἰεί**—'From time to time': cf. Aeschylus (B.C. 525—456) Prom. 973, *θῶπτε τὸν κρατοῦντ' ἀεί*, 'flatter the ruler whoever he be'.

11. **ἅτε...ποιευμένων**—'For since they made the width (lit. the measure) the same'.

12. **ἔμελλε**—'Was about to', or, as we say, 'was sure to': cf. *ἔμελλον δῆθεν ἐκφεύξεσθαι*, VIII. 6, 'they were of course quite sure to escape'.

15. **ἐπέβαλλε**—'Fell to their lot'.

16. **διπλήσιον ἤ**—'Twice as wide as was necessary', lit. 'double than': *ἤ* is thus used generally after the comparatives *πλέον, μᾶλλον*, but, cf. a curious use in VIII. 4, *αὐτοῖσι παρὰ δόξαν τὰ πρήγματα ἀπέβαινε ἢ ὡς αὐτοὶ κατεδόκεον*, 'contrary to what they were supposing'.

18. **συνῆγον**—'Kept bringing the sides together.'

ib. **τε...καὶ**—The Greek idiom expresses by two co-ordinate sentences, i.e. two independent statements of fact ('and... and'), what the English expresses by a subordinate sentence, i.e. one which in grammatical construction depends on something preceding: 'as soon as it reached the bottom, the work was found equal'. For other examples, see note on VIII. 64.

19. **τοῖσι ἄλλοισι**—i.e. 'to that of the rest': cf. *πυραμίδα ἀπελίπετο ἐλάσσω τοῦ πατρός*, 'he left behind him a pyramid less than (that of) his father', II. 134; *κόμαι χαρίτεσσιν ὁμοῖαι*, 'hair equal to (that of) the Graces', Hom. Il. XVII. 51[1].

[1] See Farrar, Greek Syntax, p. 195.

24. 1. **συμβαλλεόμενον**—'Considering it', or, as we say, 'putting things together'.

4. **παρεὸν**—An accusative absolute, 'it being possible', so *ἐξὸν, δέον*, &c., cf. *ὡς ὧν μεταδεδογμένον*, ch. 13.

8. **καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα**—The *καὶ* will be omitted, in translating into English.

33. 1. **ἐν τούτῳ**—sc. *χρόνῳ*, 'meanwhile'.

2. **ἔστι δὲ τῆς**—'Now there is on the Hellespontine Chersonese'.

34. 2. **ἐγεφύρουν**—Understand a nominative out of *τοῖσι*, '*they* were making the bridge, to whom...': cf. ch. 39, *ἐκέλευε τοῖσι προσετέτακτο*, i.e. *ἐκείνους τοῖσι*: ch. 215, *ἔπεμπε...τῶν ἐστρατήγεε Ὑδάρνης*, i.e. *ἐκείνους ὧν*.

4. **ἑπτὰ στάδιοι**—The stadium is about 200 yards. As a matter of fact, the width is about 1½ miles.

35. 5. **ἐπικέσθαι**—'Inflict upon'; *καθικνέομαι* is used in a similar way in Sophocles (B.C. 495—406) Oed. Tyr. 809, *κάρα διπλοῖς κέντροισί μου καθίκετο*.

6. **ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα**—'I even heard', cf. ch. 55, end. Juvenal too, Sat. x. 182, regards this only as a report: '*Ipsum compedibus qui vinxerat Ennosigaeum. Mitius id sane, quod non et stigmate dignum credidit'*; and says the scourging was inflicted on the winds, '*In Corum atque Eurum solitus saevire flagellis*', l. 180.

9. **ἀτάσθαλα**—Aeschylus too, who had fought at Marathon (B.C. 490) was struck by the great King's impiety: Persae 750, *ὅστις Ἑλλήσποντον ἱερὸν, δοῦλον ὡς, δεσμώμασιν ἤλπισε σχήσειν*.

13. **κατὰ δίκην ἄρα**—'Rightly, as it seems': cf. *Κύπρις οὐκ ἄρ' ἦν θεὸς*, 'Cypris then, it appears, was no goddess after all'.

16. **ἐπεστεώτων**—Participle perfect of *ἐφίστημι*, 'who presided over'.

37. 8. **ὡρμημένῳ οἱ**—A dative 'absolute', i.e. free from the ordinary rules of grammar: cf. *κελσάσῃσι δὲ νηυσὶ καθείλομεν ἱστία*, Hom. Od. IX. 149, closely resembling the dative 'commodi'.

ib. **ἐκλιπὼν**—A 'total eclipse' of the sun is said to have been first foretold by Thales, B.C. 636—546, but there seems little doubt that the Chaldeans had advanced much further in astronomy long before that time.

11. **ἐπιμελὲς**—'An object of anxiety'.

12. **τοὺς μάγους**—These astrologers or diviners were always an important part of an eastern king's retinue, e.g. of Pharaoh's (Exod. vii. 11), Nebuchadnezzar's (Dan. ii. 2), Belshazzar's (Dan. v. 7): cf. the 'medicine-man' of central Africa.

ib. **τὸ θέλοι**—'What the vision meant to foreshadow': for *θέλοι*, cf. '*quid sibi statuae equestres volunt?*' 'what do the statues mean?' Cicero (B.C. 106—43) Verr. II. 2. 61.

38. 4. **χρήσας ἄν τι τεῦ**—There is a difficulty here which the commentators do not notice: most of them, taking *ἂν* with *βουλοίμην*, construe 'I would greatly (*χρήσας*, lit. 'wishing') desire to obtain something from thee (*τυχεῖν τι τεῦ*). But can a Doric form like *τεῦ* be used in Hdt. = *σοῦ?* *τεῦ* (circumflex) only occurs in Ionic = *τίνος* (interrogative), e.g. *τεῦ ἐνδεὴς ἂν*; v. 106, while *σεῦ* and *σέο* are the ordinary variations for *σοῦ*. If it were not for the following *χρηΐζειν* (l. 7), one would like to read *χρήσαις* (optat. of *χράω*, I grant)...*τοῦ*, 'wouldst thou grant something which...?' and this would make the taking of *ἂν* more satisfactory. Otherwise we might simply alter *τεῦ* into *σεῦ*, keeping *χρήσας*, or for *τι τεῦ* substitute *τευ*, from *τις* indefinite, 'something'.

7. **πᾶν μᾶλλον δοκέων**—'Thinking that he would want anything (lit. everything) rather than what he did'. For *πᾶν*, cf. ch. 143, *οὐκ ἔφη πᾶν ὀρθῶς τοὺς χρησμολόγους συμβάλλεσθαι*, 'said that the interpreters did not explain it right at all': and for the converse, *τις* translated by English 'all', cf. ch. 5, note, *τις ὕστερον φυλάσσηται*.

11. **καταλαμβάνει**—Impersonally, 'the lot takes', 'it befalls'.

13. **μοι**—Not, 'one of my children', making *μοι* the 'ethical' dative (so called, because the action causes a certain feeling or *ἦθος*), but probably after *παράλυσον*, and inserted between *τῶν* and *παίδων* out of the regular order, cf. ch. 143, *ἦν δὲ τῶν τις Ἀθηναίων ἀνήρ*.

16. **ἅμα**—For *σάμα*, the rough breathing taking the place of *s*, cf. *ὗς sus*, *ἑκυρὸς socer*, *ἕδος sedes*, *ἕπομαι sequor*. From the same root are *ὁμοῦ* (together), *ὁμαλὸς* (level, even), Latin *simul*, *similis*, German *zusammen* (together), and English *same*.

ib. **πρήξας**—The aorist is emphatic, '*after* accomplishing': cf. ch. 5, *ἐργασαμένους πολλὰ κακὰ*, 'after inflicting many losses': ch. 12, *προείπας ἀλίζειν Πέρσας*, 'after first bidding...';

ch. 206, ἔμελλον ὁρτάσαντες, 'they intended, *after finishing* the feast...': VIII. 88, κακὸν ἐργασαμένην.

ib. **νοστήσειας**—The root of the word is νας, 'to go in and out', whence come ναίω [=να(σ)ιω], 'to go in and out of a place', i.e. to live there, and νίσσομαι.

40. 4. **ἀναμίξ**—Herodotus does not mean that the contingents furnished by the different tribes were mixed up together, but that there was no interval left between them.

5. **ὑπερημίσεες**—ἥμισυς, 'half', Latin *semis*, is probably also connected with σάμα, from the idea of the two halves of a thing lying *together*.

6. **διελέλειπτο**—'An interval had been left'.

8. **ἀπολελεγμένοι**—λέγω originally means to 'lay in order', and so to 'count', 'reckon', and hence to 'recount', 'tell'. Our English 'tell' had originally a similar idea of 'numbering', cf. Milton, L'Allegro, 'Every shepherd tells his tale', i.e. counts over his sheep: Exod. v. 8, 'the tale of the bricks which they did make'.

10. **ἱροὶ**—ἱερὸς seems to come from a root meaning 'strong', 'mighty', and so 'perfect', 'unblemished', 'holy', e.g. we have in Homer ἱερὸς ἰχθὺς, 'a mighty fish', ἱερὸς δίφρος, 'a splendid chariot', ἱερὸν μένος Ἀλκινόοιο, 'the mighty power of Alcinous', so too ἱερὸν κῦμα, ἱερὸς ὄμβρος, in the tragic poets.

11. **ὡς κάλλιστα**—The phrase is of course a shortened one for οὕτως κεκοσμημένοι ὡς κάλλιστα δύνατον ἦν, so too the Latin *quam* with the superlative (*quam optime*) is to be explained by a preceding *tam*.

12. **ἐπὶ τοῦδε**—καλεῖσθαι ἐπί τινος is 'to be called *after* any one', cf. Herod. IV. 184, ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ οὔρεος (Atlas) οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐπώνυμοι ἐγένοντο· καλέονται γὰρ δὴ Ἄτλαντες.

15. **ἅρμα Διὸς**—This triumphal car seems to have been a favourite eastern symbol for the resistless onward movement of the powers of nature. Perhaps the well-known Indian car of Juggernaut originally conveyed the same idea. These changeless influences were personified in the supreme god, the Persian Ormuzd, to whom the Greeks gave the name of Zeus, identifying, as they always did, similar gods of the nations with their own. Naturally therefore Herodotus, writing for Greeks, would call this Persian god Zeus. The car further seems to have symbolized the visible presence of the supreme

god on earth, just as to the Israelites in the wilderness the tabernacle denoted the constant abiding-place of Jehovah. The white horses seem to suggest a possible connection with the worship of the Sun (Mithra), which we find Xerxes worshipping, *εὔχετο πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον*, ch. 54.

16. **λευκοὶ**—White was supposed to be the colour that denoted the best horses. Cf. Virg. Aen. XII. 84, *equos...qui candore nives anteirent*: Pindar (B.C. 522—442) Pyth. I. 66, *λευκοπώλων Τυνδαριδᾶν*, of whom Macaulay says (Battle of Lake Regillus), 'White as snow their armour was; their steeds were white as snow'. For farming purposes and hard work, however, Virgil ranks the colour very low, *color deterrimus albis*, Georg. III. 82.

17. **εἵπετο**—*ἕπομαι* and the Latin *sequor* are from the same root; a similar interchange of *π* and *qu* is found in *πέντε* (Aeol. *πέμπε*) *quinque*, *πίσυρες* (Aeol. for *τέσσαρες*) *quatuor*, *ἵππος equus*.

ib. **ἐχόμενος**—Literally, 'holding of the bridle', a partitive genitive, cf. ch. 5, *τοιούτου λόγου εἴχετο*: VIII. 11, *ἔργου εἴχοντο*, 'were pressing on (lit. keeping hold of) the work'.

20. **ἡνίοχος**—This post was always filled by a youth of noble birth; the Otanes here mentioned was probably connected with the Achaemenidae, the royal family of Persia.

41. 1. **μετεκβαίνεσκε**—For the form, see note on ch. 5, and cf. ch. 100, *μετεκβὰς ἐκ τοῦ ἅρματος ἐς νέα Σιδωνίην*.

2. **ὅκως μιν λόγος αἱρέοι**—'Whenever the reason (or, as we say, the wish) took him', i.e. whenever the idea occurred to him. The phrase has generally a different meaning, thus *ὁ λόγος αἱρεῖ με* is, 'reason convinces me', 'it stands to reason that'. For the optative (*αἱρέοι*) after *ὅκως*, denoting indefinite frequency ('as often as'), see VIII. 115, *ὅκου πορευόμενοι γινοίατο*.

ib. **λόγος**—This word occurs, in these chapters, with the following meanings: (1) a talking, story, cf. VIII. 74, *σιγῇ λόγον ἐποιέετο*, 'kept up a talking': VIII. 58, *λόγος τῶν εἵνεκα*, 'story of the reasons'; (2) talk which one causes, reputation, cf. ch. 5, *ἵνα λόγος σε ἔχῃ ἀγαθὸς*, 'that thou mayest have a good repute': ch. 211, *ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως λόγου*, 'fought in a manner worthy of their reputation': so VIII. 10, *Ἀθηναίων λόγος ἦν πλεῖστος*, and compare ch. 218, *οὐδένα λόγον ἐποιεῦντο*, 'made no account of'; (3) rank, order: ch. 222, *ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ*, 'in the rank of hostages'; (4) reason, as here, *ὅκως μιν λόγος*

αἱρέοι: cf. VIII. 5, *ἠπιστέατο ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ τὰ χρήματα*, 'thought that the money came for this purpose'.

3. **ἁρμάμαξαν**—A 'litter', Latin *lectica*, the modern 'araba', fitted up with cushions and an awning to keep off the sun, generally used for carrying women.

5. **κατὰ νόμον**—'According to custom'. *νόμος* (from *νέμω*, to assign, distribute) means what is dealt out to all, i.e. law, and what is law to all becomes custom. With a different accent, *νομὸς* means the ground *assigned* to each man, pasture. Derivatives are *νομίζω*, to make a custom, acknowledge, and so to *think*; *νόμισμα*, the 'acknowledged' coinage, current coin, Latin *numus*, cf. *numerus*; *νέμεσις*, divine indignation, wrath that is 'due'; *νομεὺς*, a shepherd; *νωμάω*, to assign, the verb keeping only to the original sense of the root.

8. **μύριοι**—The so-called *ἀθάνατοι* or Immortals.

10. **συνκλήϊον**—For the Attic *συνέκλειον*. The termination -*ήϊος*, -*ηΐα*, -*ήϊον* = the Attic -*εῖος*, -*εία*, -*εῖον*, cf. *ἀληθηΐη*, *στρατηΐη*, *ἀριστήϊον*, *μαντήϊον*, &c.

13. **μῆλα**—Probably lemons or oranges. *μῆλον* signifies any tree fruit, thus *μῆλον Ἀρμενιακὸν* is the *malum praecox*, our a-pricock or apricot (L. and S.).

43. 1. **ὃς**—sc. *ἐστί*.

2. **ἐπεί τε**—'When', 'as soon as'. With many pronouns and adverbs, *τε* has quite a different sense to its usual meaning, 'and', and is not translated at all, while the word with which it is joined has a *relative* force. In Homer it is often untranslatable, cf. *ἄνδρας μὲν κτείνουσι, πόλιν δέ τε πῦρ ἀμαθύνει*, Il. IX. 593: *ἰσχίον ἔνθα τε μηρὸς ἰσχίῳ ἐνστρέφεται*, 'just where the joint...', Il. V. 305: so *ἵνα τε*, *ὥσει τε*, &c., and so *ἔπει τε* here. Cf. ch. 100, *τὰς νέας ἀναγαγόντες ὅσον τε τέσσερα πλέθρα ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ*, 'launching the ships *as far as* four plethra from the beach'. When the demonstrative pronoun (perhaps the only one in Homer) became developed into the relative (note on ch. 18), the *τε* was dropped in most cases in Attic: for a few instances of exceptions to this rule, where *τε* was kept, see note on *ἐπ' ᾧ τε*, VIII. 4.

3. **ἐπέλιπε**—In the dry season these rivers are reduced to a very small stream, and probably the trampling of so large an army would break up the ground and make the river a marsh from which it would be impossible to procure any

drinkable water. Juvenal (Sat. x. 176) is incredulous: *Credimus altos defecisse amnes epotaque flumina Medo prandente.*

5. **κτήνεσι**—*κτῆνος*, properly a 'possession', from *κτάομαι*, 'I get', is almost always specialised to mean 'cattle', because in early times, when there were hardly any manufactured goods, live stock were the most important part of a man's property.

6. **Πέργαμον**—The Pergamum (connected with *πύργος*, German -burg, our Edin-*burgh*, Tewkes-*bury*) was properly the citadel of Troy, as the Acropolis was of Athens, but in poetry it was often used to denote the whole city.

9. **ἐχέαντο**—i.e. propitiatory libations, the heroes being regarded as vengeful powers, whom it was necessary to appease by offerings.

44. 2. **καὶ γάρ**—See note on ch. 4.

8. **Φοίνικες**—We have already had (chs. 23, 24) instances of the ingenuity of this people. From the earliest times they were experienced navigators, and had set up their factories for the manufacture of the dye from the purple shell (*Murex trunculus*) in many parts of Hellas. They had also colonised Carthage, Spain, both on the Mediterranean and Atlantic, and even ventured as far north as Cornwall, attracted by the valuable tin mines.

45. 1. **ὥρα**—Attic *ἑώρα*, imperfect of *ὁράω*.

2. **ἀκτὰς**—From *ἄγνυμι*, i.e. what *breaks* the force of the waves, compare *ῥηγμὶς* (shore) from *ῥήγνυμι*.

46. 1. **μαθὼν**—'Having noticed': cf. ch. 188, *ὅσοι αὐξανόμενον ἔμαθον τὸν ἄνεμον*, 'as many as noticed...': ch. 208, *τὸ πλῆθος ἐμάνθανε*, 'was taking note of their number': cf. VIII. 88. The word in its developed meaning (to notice and so to *learn*) closely resembles *πυνθάνομαι*, to ask and so to *hear*. The root is *μαν* or *μεν*, to measure, from which are derived *μήνη* the moon, the *measurer* of time, *μὴν* a month, Lat. *mensis*, the thing *measured*, *manus*, a hand, *μέτρον*, &c., *mens*, the mind, the *measurer* of thought, *moneo*, *μάντις*, *μέμονα*, 'I think backwards', i.e. 'remember', *Minerva*, the goddess of thoughtful handicraft. With the special sense which 'mathematics', literally, *the learnings*, bears in English, compare the Greek *ποιητής*, literally, 'a maker', and our 'undertaker'.

4. **ὡς πολὺ...ἐργάσαο**—'How entirely different (lit. separated) from one another were the things thou didst'.

7. **γὰρ**—See note on ch. 4.

ib. **ἐσῆλθε...κατοικτεῖραι**—'The thought entered me (lit. it entered me) to think in pity'.

8. **εἰ**—Whether the derivation of the Greek *εἰ* and Latin *si* (old *sei*) is at all similar to that of the English 'if' (=give), is uncertain. Here it is taken with the following *γε*, meaning *ἐπεί*, 'since', Lat. *siquidem*. Cf. ch. 226, *εἰ ἀποκρυπτόντων τῶν Μήδων τὸν ἥλιον*, 'since, if the Medes hid the sun'. Notice too *εἰ* after *θαυμάζω* (='whether'), cf. VIII. 8, *θαυμάζω εἰ ἔστι ἀληθὲς* (a usage said to be owing to Greek politeness and unwillingness to say anything downright), and the phrases *εἴ κως* (VIII. 6), *ἤν κως* (VIII. 5), 'if by any means', i.e. 'in hopes that'.

10. **τούτου**—After *οἰκτρότερα*.

ib. **παρὰ τὴν ζόην**—Latin '*inter vitam*', 'along the course of life'.

13. **τῷ οὐ παραστήσεται**—'To whom it will not occur', cf. Soph. O. T. 911, *δόξα μοι παρεστάθη ναοὺς ἱκέσθαι*, 'the idea entered my head...'.

15. **καὶ βραχὺν ἐόντα**—'Even though it is short': for *καὶ* see note on ch. 55.

19. **γεύσας**—*γεύω*, I give a taste, *γεύομαι*, I give myself a taste, i.e. I taste. The emphasis is on *γλυκὺν*, which is shown by its being put first, 'sweet as is the taste that...'.

ib. **φθονερὸς**—For the idea cf. ch. 10 § 5, *φιλέει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα πάντα κολούειν*, 'God loves to prune all excesses': and I. 32, *ἐπιστάμενόν με τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἐὸν φθονερόν τε καὶ ταραχῶδες*. Herodotus is strongly imbued with the idea of this '*invidia*', or grudging of happiness, on the part of the gods.

ib. **εὑρίσκεται ἐὼν**—Like *φαίνεται ἐών*, 'is proved to be.'

54. 1. **ταύτην...ἡμέρην**—Accusative of time during which, 'for this day', not 'on this day', which would be *ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ*: cf. VIII. 71, *ἐλίνυον οὐδένα χρόνον*, 'they never rested': VIII. 86, *ἦσαν ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην*, 'during this day they were': VIII. 99, *τὸν πάντα μεταξὺ χρόνον γενόμενον*. Also of space along which: VIII. 113, *ἐξέλαυνον τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν*, 'they marched out the same way'. Both usages come from the radical idea of the accusative, motion along or to a given end.

5. **στορνύντες**—A common part of Eastern worship, see S. Matt. xxi. 8.

7. **εὔχετο**—The Persians worshipped the sun under the name Mithra (cf. the name Mithradates, 'given to the sun'). They also worshipped fire, as the best symbol of their divinity: they had no temples or shrines, but only altars on open mountain-tops. It has been a question whether this Magism or fire-worship was the original religion of the Persians, or whether it was introduced amongst them from abroad. It seems probable that the Medes, the near neighbours of Persia, received it from the Scyths, many tribes of whom in early times were scattered all over Western Asia. When the Medes were conquered by the Persians, Magism received a severe blow, but made a last effort under the Pseudo-Smerdis, who was slain by Darius. Magism then, since it could not conquer Persia, had to be content with undermining and blending with the old Persian religion, which was a belief in two contending principles of good and evil, personified under the names of Ormuzd, the supreme god, and Ahriman, the chief of the powers of evil.

8. **παύσει**—Xerxes *said* '*ἥ με παύσει*', and in the reported speech the verb is kept in the same mood, to make the story more vivid, instead of being changed, as it would be in Latin. Cf. ch. 213, *ἀπορέοντος δὲ βασιλέος ὅ τι χρήσεται τῷ παρεόντι πρήγματι*, where he *said ἀπορῶ ὅ τι χρήσομαι*.

10. **ἐσέβαλε**—It was usual to propitiate the *invidia* of the gods by throwing away something very precious, cf. the story of Polycrates of Samos, who, when prospering in everything, by the advice of Amasis, king of Egypt, went out some way to sea, and threw overboard his signet-ring. But some days afterwards a fisherman made Polycrates a present of a fine fish, in which, when it was opened, the ring was found; Amasis accordingly *ἔμαθε ὅτι οὐκ εὖ τελευτήσειν μέλλει Πολυκράτης, εὐτυχέων τὰ πάντα*, and put an end to his alliance with him, Herod. III. 41—3.

13. **ἀνατιθεὶς**—The participle is the emphatic word, and we must change the construction in English, translating, 'if he dedicated it to the sun when he...'. For similar emphatic participles cf. ch. 190, *ὁ μὲν τἆλλα οὐκ εὐτυχέων...πλούσιος ἐγένετο*, 'he was not favoured with good luck in other things, though he became (or, when he became) rich': VIII. 99, *οὐκ οὕτω δὲ περὶ τῶν νεῶν ἀχθόμενοι...ἐποίευν*, 'they did this not so much because they were grieved about the ships'.

55. 1. **κατὰ**—'By way of', note on ch. 23.

4. **ὑποζύγια**—'Those under the yoke' (*ζύγον*, Lat. *jugum*). The yoke, of course, is what 'joins' (*ζεύγνυμι*, *jungo*), two animals together. The root is *jug*, pronounced *yug*, from which come *con-jux*, a husband or wife, *jus* (soup, i.e. a *mixture*) Greek *ζωμός*, *jugerum* an acre, *juxta* near, i.e. joined to.

5. **θεραπηΐη**—Equals *θεράποντες*, abstract for concrete, so *servitium* often for *servi*. Cf. Tacitus (A.D. 58—120?) Hist. I. 9, *Flaccum, ne quieto quidem milite regimen.*

6. **μετὰ τούτους**—'Next to these,' not 'with these,' which would be *μετὰ τούτων*. Cf. ch. 139, *'Αθηναῖοι...βασιλέα μετά γε θεοὺς ἀνωσάμενοι*, 'who, next to the gods, drove off the Great King'.

10. **μετὰ δὲ**—'And afterwards', cf. just below *ἐπὶ δὲ*, 'and next', so *πρὸς δὲ*, VIII. 40, and *μετὰ δὲ*, *ἐπὶ δὲ*, *ἐν δὲ*, all in VIII. 113.

12. **ἐπὶ τούτοισι**—'Next to these', see note on ch. 132.

13. **ἀνήγοντο**—*ἀνάγεσθαι* (lit. to lead oneself up) is the regular word for 'to set sail', to launch on the *high* seas, as we say: *κατάγεσθαι*, for 'to put into harbour', to come *down* to land.

ib. **ἐς τὴν**—sc. *γῆν* or *ἀκτήν*.

ib. **καὶ ὕστατον**—'Quite last.' *καί*, like *δὴ* (note on ch. 12), emphasises the word with which it is joined, cf. ch. 46, *καὶ βραχὺν ἐόντα*, 'even though it is short': ch. 141, *ἔστ' ἂν καὶ τελευτήσωμεν*, 'until we actually die'.

56. 1. **Εὐρώπην**—The word Europa means 'darkness' or 'the west'; it is the same root as Erebus, and Arab, the latter being so called because he lived in the westernmost part of Asia. The Phoenicians, Greeks, and others, spoke of 'the West' as we speak now of 'the East', thus to the Greeks Italy was 'Hesperia'. The fabled carrying away of Europa by Jupiter to Crete evidently symbolizes a Phoenician colonisation of that island, and Europa is called the daughter of Phoenix by Homer (Il. II. 321).

4. **ἐλινύσας**—One of the poetical words of which Herodotus is very fond, cf. *εὐφρόνη* just before used for 'night', lit. the 'kindly' time: *ἱμέρθη* and *ἵμερος*, ch. 44: *πόνος* (of a battle), ch. 224, both on land and (VIII. 89) on sea, also of a violent storm, ch. 190: *ἀτρεκέως*, ch. 208, and *τὸ ἀτρεκὲς*, ch. 60: *τέρπω*, VIII. 99: *ἑτεραλκέως*, VIII. 11: *ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ*='in the thick of the fight', VIII. 89, &c.

6. **τί δὴ**—See note on ch. 12.

7. **οὔνομα**—Ionic for *ὄνομα*, cf. *ξεῖνος* for *ξένος*, *κεινὸς* for *κενὸς*, *μοῦνος* for *μόνος*, but *μέζων* for *μείζων*. *ὄνομα* is for *ὄ-γνομα*, the *ο* being 'prosthetic'; the root is *γαν*, from which are derived *gnarus*, *γιγνώσκω* (reduplicated), *νόος* (=*γνοος*), *nota*, *narrare* (=*gnarigare*) to make known, *nomen*, cf. *cognomen*, *norma* (=*gnorima*).

ib. **ἀνάστατον**—'Utterly wasted', cf. Thuc. (B.C. 471—401) VIII. 24, *ἀνάστατα ἐποίησαν τὰ ταύτῃ χώρια*. The word also, from its derivation (*ἀνίστημι*, I make to rise up), contains the idea of 'depopulated', and we know that it was a favourite practice of Eastern conquerors to carry away captive the whole population of a conquered land, cf. 2 Kings xvii. 6, 'The king of Assyria took Samaria, and carried Israel away into Assyria, and placed them in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan (a tributary of the Tigris, left bank), and in the cities of the Medes', B.C. 721: and 2 Chron. xxxvi. 20, 'Them that had escaped from the sword carried he (Nebuchadnezzar) away to Babylon', B.C. 588.

8. **πάντας**—Cf. ch. 19, *Ξέρξης τοῦ στρατοῦ οὕτω ἐπάγερσιν ποιέεται, χῶρον πάντα ἐρευνῶν τῆς ἠπείρου.*

9. **ἐξῆν**—'It was in thy power', imperfect of *ἔξεστι*, 'it is possible'.

60. 1. **ἀριθμὸν**—The root is *ἀρ*, to fit, from which are derived *ἀραρίσκω* (root reduplicated) I fit, suit, *ἄρθρον* a joint, *ἀρτύω* fit together, prepare, *ἀριθμὸς* reckoning, i.e. fitting together numbers in a series, *ἄρτιος* even, *ἄρτι* just, exactly, *ἀρι-* fitting, good, in *ἄριστος ἀρείων*, *ἀρέσκω* I please, *ἀρετὴ* excellence, fitness; Latin *arma* equipments, with which a man is *fitted*, *armus* shoulder (of an animal), *artus* limb, *artus* close, *ars* art=*ar*(*ti*)*s*[1], &c.

2. **οὐκ ἔχω**—*ἔχω* intransitive is used by Herodotus meaning (1) to have oneself, to be, of a law, to *run*, cf. ch. 209, *νόμος οὕτω ἔχων*: ch. 182, *τὸ ὅρκιον ὧδε εἶχε*, 'was as follows': of a country, to 'lie', ch. 201, *τῶν πρὸς βορῆν ἐχόντων*, 'of those which lie towards the north': with adverbs, simply to *be*, ch. 220, *αὐτῷ οὐκ εὐπρεπέως ἔχειν*, 'said that it was not seemly for him': (2) to have (of), to be off for, with a genitive, cf. ch. 188, *τοῖσι οὕτω εἶχε ὅρμου*, 'those who were so off for anchorage',

[1] Curtius, Gk. Etymology, 342.

cf. Aristophanes' πῶς ἔχεις ὑποδημάτων; 'how are you off for shoes?' (3) to have it in one's power, to be *able*, generally with infinitive, ch. 60, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν τὸ ἀτρεκές, 'I cannot say for certain', ch. 211, οὐκ ἔχοντες πλήθεϊ χρήσασθαι, 'not being able to make use of...', but ch. 60, ὡς μάλιστα εἶχον, without infinitive, 'as best they could'. (4) ἔχειν ἐς, to refer to, ch. 143, εἰ ἐς Ἀθηναίους εἶχε, 'if it had referred to the Athenians'.

ib. **τὸ ἀτρεκές**—For the construction, see on τόνδε τὸν τρόπον below. The word is derived from ταρκ, a secondary of the root ταρ, which has the idea of motion with friction, whence τείρω, *tero* I rub, τέρην tender: from ταρκ come *torqueo* I whirl or twist, *torques* a chain, ἄ-τρακτος an arrow, which goes to its mark *without a swerve*, and ἀτρεκής (metaphorically) without a twist, i.e. certain, sure. From the same root ταρ come τρέπω, *trepidus*, τρέμω, τρήρων (= τρέσρων) a dove, i.e. the 'trembling' bird.

3. **οὐδαμῶν**—'By *any* man': in Greek the two similar negatives do not destroy, but strengthen one another. In English the opposite is the case; 'not related by no one' would be the reverse of what Herodotus means. Yet in old English a redundant negative is often found, cf. Acts x. 47, 'Can any man forbid water, that these should *not* be baptized'? and in the rubric, 'any just cause or impediment, why these should *not* be joined together'.

4. **ἑβδομήκοντα**—The final α, as is seen by the accent, is short, while in the Latin *septuaginta*, *triginta*, *quinquaginta*, it is properly long, though sometimes shortened by the poets. In both cases, it is a neuter plural termination, and neuter plurals were originally long in Latin, as we see from one or two instances in Plautus.

5. **μυριάδες**—This was the land army only, and as Herodotus says, did not include the cavalry, which numbered 80,000, nor the Arabs and Libyans 20,000. Besides these, there were the crews of the triremes, of which there were 1207, and counting 200 men to each trireme, this gives a total of 241,400; also the ἐπιβάται or marines on board each trireme, 30 on each, in all 36,210. Then there were the transports (πλοῖα σιτάγωγα) which Herod. guesses at 3000 with an average crew of 80, in all 240,000. From Europe, too, he supposes Xerxes to have drawn 300,000 land and 24,000 sea forces. These were

all fighting men, and he estimates that each had one attendant at least. In a tabular form[1]:

Land forces	Infantry	1,700,000
	Cavalry	80,000
	Arabs and Libyans	20,000
Sea forces	Crews of the triremes (1207 × 200)	241,400
	Marines (1207 × 30)	36,210
	Crews of the transports (3000 × 80)	240,000
From Europe	Land forces	300,000
	Sea forces	24,000
	Total	2,641,610
	An equal number of attendants	2,641,610
	Grand Total	5,283,220

Mr Grote has remarked that this estimate is much too high, the crew of a transport, for instance, could not have been so many as 80, and the transports themselves may be set down at 100. The forces drawn from Europe are too high. But the grand error is his assuming that each fighting man had an attendant. This may have been the case in the Grecian, but certainly was not in the Persian army, still less with the crews of the transports, and thus we get the total diminished at once by nearly one half. The safest estimate of the number of Xerxes' total force, is that which puts it at about a million and a half.

ib. **τόνδε τὸν τρόπον**—A sort of adverbial accusative, like *εἶπαι τὸ ἀτρεκὲς* above, 'to say for certain': cf. ch. 209, *ἐπειρώτα ὅντινα τρόπον μαχέσονται*, 'he asked in what way...': ch. 211, *ἐφέροντο τὰ αὐτά*, 'they were carried on in the same way': ch. 18, *οὐκ ἔων σε τὰ πάντα εἴκειν τῇ ἡλικίῃ*, 'I did not allow thee to yield in everything': VIII. 117, *οὐδένα κόσμον ἐμπιμπλάμενοι*, 'filling themselves without restraint'.

7. **συνάξαντες**—Aorist participle of *συνάγω*, 'after pressing together'.

8. **ἔξωθεν**—Idiomatically, for *ἔξω*, because the action was

[1] Adapted from Rawlinson.

regarded as done *from* the outside: see note on VIII. 87, **πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων**.

ib. **ἀπέντες**—Ionic for *ἀφέντες*, aorist participle of *ἀφίημι*, 'let go'.

9. **ὕψος**—'In height', another adverbial accusative, lit. 'as to height'.

10. **ἀνδρὶ**—'to a man's middle', apparently the dative after a substantive where one would usually have the genitive, cf. Livy (B.C. 59—A.D. 17) XXIX. 29, *militanti in Hispania pater ei moritur*.

13. **διέτασσον**—'Arranged them separately'.

100. 1. **ἠρίθμησέ τε**—The nominative to this is, of course, Xerxes, but the *καὶ διετάχθη* following with the nominative *στρατὸς*, is unusual, since when no nominative (as here) is *expressed* with the first verb, and a second verb is joined on by *καί*, the nominative to the second verb generally belongs to the first as well.

5. **ἀπέγραφον**—The force of the preposition is 'took it down *from*' their replies. It was probably from the records made by these scribes that Herodotus got most of his information about the strength of the Persian army.

6. **ἀπίκετο**—*ἱκνέομαι* is one of those words which has lost a digamma at the beginning. The digamma was an old consonant which had fallen out of use, as far as writing was concerned, when the poems of Homer were written down. The name has reference to the shape of the letter (*Ϝ*), which resembled two capital gammas one above the other, and its pronunciation is supposed to have been that of the English 'w'. This explains why, in such lines as e.g. Τηλέμαχος δ', ὅθι οἱ θάλαμος περικαλλέος αὐλῆς, the short vowel at the end of *ὅθι* is not cut off, because *οἱ* was pronounced as if it had a 'w' before it. *ἱκνέομαι*, then, is from the root *Ϝικ*, from which come *vicus* village, the place where people 'come and go', *οἶκος* house, *villa* (=*vicla*) country house, *vicinus*, *ἱκανὸς* enough, i.e. *coming* up to the right quantity, English wick, a town, as in Chis-wick, and Wick, in the north of Scotland.

7. **κατελκυσθεισέων**—It was the ancient custom, when a landing was made, always to draw the ships on shore, prow foremost, the stern was then secured by being fastened with

ropes to large stones (*εὐναί*) which served as anchors. The custom lasted at least as long as until Caesar's time, for we find him referring to the same process in his Commentaries.

8. *μεταβάς*—The prepositions contain the ideas of 'changing' from (note on ch. 13), and descending from.

9. *σκηνῇ*—'An awning'. Our 'scene' is of course the same word, which has passed through a curious string of meanings. *σκηνὴ* (connected with *σκιά*) is what shades or shelters, then it is used for the back wall of a stage, which 'sheltered' it from the outside, then for the stage itself, then for anything 'public', open, as opposed to private, then in particular, an open prospect or view, our 'scene'.

11. *ὁμοίως καί*—Lat. *eodem modo atque*. In both these phrases, where we translate *καί* and *atque*, 'as', they originally meant 'and'. Thus *Eodem modo lusit atque prius solebat* is simply 'In the same manner he played, *and* was wont (to play). So *simul atque venit, sedatus est tumultus*, which we translate 'as soon as he came...', is originally, 'the tumult was quieted at the same time, and he came (at the same time)'.

12. *ὅσον τε*—'as far as', 'about', see note on *ἐπεί τε*, ch. 43. The plethrum was about 100 feet.

13. *αἰγιαλοῦ*—The word in its original meaning (that which is 'shaken' by the sea) is connected with *αἰγίς* storm, *καταιγίζω* storm down, perhaps *αἴγειρος*, a poplar, i.e. the 'quivering' tree, and Lat. *aeger* trembling, ill.

ib. *ἀνεκώχευον*—The verb is formed from *ἀνοκωχή*, a reduplication of *ἀνοχή*, from *ἀνέχω*, 'hold back' or 'hold up'. *ἀνοκωχή* in Thuc. means a 'holding up' of arms, a 'truce', thus *δι' ἀνοκωχῆς γενέσθαι* is, 'to be at truce with'. Here the verb means, 'kept them riding at anchor'.

15. *ἐπιβάτας*—From *ἐπιβαίνω*, 'one who embarks'. The *ἐπιβάται* had nothing to do with the working of the ship, but in an engagement, if the ramming (*ἐμβολή*, VIII. 87) failed, they had to make fast the grappling-irons (*χεῖρες σιδηροῖ*, Thuc. VII. 62) and board, or else stand behind the nettings (*παραρύματα*), and repel boarders. Thus they corresponded to our marines. Herodotus tells us (VI. 15) that the ships of the Chians in the Ionic revolt had each 40 *ἐπιβάται*, but the Athenians, who relied more on their skill as sailors, and preferred to sink their adversary at once, seem to have reduced the number to 10, for in

the Peloponnesian war we find 30 ships had 300 ἐπιβάται (Arnold on Thuc. III. 95).

ib. **ἐντὸς**—i.e. 'between the ships and the beach': μεταξὺ (=μετὰ-σὺν) is the more usual word for 'between'.

131. 1. **Πιερίην**—Once a supposed home of the Muses, whence their name Πιερίδες.

ib. **διέτριβε**—Compare the Latin '*tempus terere*'.

2. **τὸ οὖρος**—Better known as Mt. Olympus, the northern boundary of Thessaly.

ib. **ἔκειρε**—'Was clearing', of trees and other impediments. The root is probably καρ, to cut, from which come κορμὸς log, κέρμα slice, a small coin, κουρά shearing, κεραΐζω I cut in pieces, Lat. *curtus* cut short, docked, *cortex* bark, the part first *cut*, English 'shear'.

5. **Ἑλλάδα**—The word denotes (1) a city in N. Thessaly; (2) part of Thessaly itself; (3) Northern Greece, as opposed to the Peloponnesus; (4) the whole of Greece proper. In an extended sense ἡ μεγάλη Ἑλλὰς or Magna Graecia is used for the south-eastern end of Italy, the sea-coast of which was covered with colonies from Greece.

ib. **ἐπὶ αἴτησιν**—The giving of earth and water to an invader meant total submission.

6. **κεινοὶ**—Notice the accent, which distinguishes the word from κεῖνοι shortened form of ἐκεῖνοι.

132. 2. **Δόλοπες**—They inhabited the eastern slope of Mt. Pindus, at the extreme west of Thessaly.

ib. **Ἐνιῆνες**—Or, 'Aenianes': they occupied the upper valley of the Spercheius, shut in between Mt. Oeta on the south, and the western spur of Mt. Othrys on the north.

ib. **Λοκροὶ**—These are the Opuntian, not the Ozolian Locri, the latter of whom lived on the Gulf of Corinth. It will be seen from the map that the adhesion of these tribes gave Xerxes the command of almost all the seaboard from Thessaly to the north of Attica.

5. **Θεσπιέων**—We read in ch. 222 that the Thespians remained and fell with the Spartans at Thermopylae.

ib. **Πλαταιέων**—The Plataeans had the honour of fighting by the side of the Athenians at Marathon. Their city was

destroyed by Xerxes, and in 479 the final battle, which drove the Persians out of Greece, was fought close to its walls. For their services in the war, the Plataean territory was declared inviolate, but in the third year of the Peloponnesian war the Thebans persuaded the Spartans to destroy the town, which had been rebuilt, and put to the sword the inhabitants.

ib. **ἐπὶ τούτοισι**—'Against these.' ἐπὶ with dative denotes usually something *following on*, e.g. τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις, 'the things next after this': cf. VIII. 40, ἐπὶ τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγμασι βουλὴν ἔμελλον ποιήσασθαι, 'in view of the matters that had happened they intended to hold a council.'

6. **ἔταμον**—A solemn oath was usually accompanied by the slaying of a victim and the shedding of blood, cf. the Latin *foedus ferire, icere*.

9. **καταστάντων**—'When matters stood well with them', cf. ch. 138, ἐν δείματι μεγάλῳ κατέστασαν, 'stood in great terror': VIII. 12, ἐς φόβον κατιστέατο, 'were reduced to fear'.

10. **δεκατεῦσαι**—The words of the oath; they swore 'to make these pay a tenth', τούτους accusative after δεκατεῦσαι. The tithe was of course in property, the tribes were not themselves decimated, as some have thought.

133. 4. **τὸ βάραθρον**—A cleft at Athens behind the Acropolis, into which criminals were thrown, as at Rome from the Tarpeian rock. The Spartans had a similar pit called Καιάδας.

ib. **φρέαρ**—From the same root as the Scotch 'burn', a brook.

7. **ὅ τι...γενέσθαι**—'What unwelcome thing happened to befall the Athenians'. For ἀνεθέλητον, cf. ὡς οὐδὲν πεισόμενοι ἄχαρι, ch. 139.

ib. **ποιήσασι**—Governs two accusatives, 'for doing this *to* the heralds'.

10. **οὐ δοκέω**—For this remark of Herodotus, see note on αὐτὸς ἐθέλων, ch. 191.

138. 2. **ἐλαύνει**—Present tense, because the King's pretext, put into words, was ἐλαύνω ἐπ' Ἀθήνας.

ib. **κατίετο**—From καθίημι, 'was directed'.

3. **πρὸ πολλοῦ**—'Long before', Lat. *longe antea*.

4. **ἐποιεῦντο**—Note on *δευτέρα ἐποίεε*, ch. 1.

5. **πεισόμενοι**—The Greek idiom keeps the future; they *said οὐδὲν πεισόμεθα.*

8. **ἀριθμὸν**—'In number', lit. 'as to number', see note on *τόνδε τὸν τρόπον*, ch. 60.

9. **ἀντάπτεσθαι**—'To take part in', lit. 'lay hold of': the verb, for the same reason as *ἔχομαι* (ch. 40) governs a partitive genitive of the thing laid hold of.

10. **μηδιζόντων**—'Took the Persian side', so *'Ελληνίζω* (Hdt. IV. 44), *'Αττικίζω* (Thuc. III. 62), *Φιλιππίζω* (Demosth.), *Μακεδονίζω* (Plutarch, floruit cir. A.D. 100), *Λακωνίζω* (Plato, etc.), so *Σωκρατέω* (Aristoph.), cf. *ἐπισκυθίζω*, 'pour in drink Scythian-fashion', Hdt. VI. 84.

140. 1. **θεοπρόπους**—'Sacred envoys', those who *πρέπουσι* (show forth) *τὰ τῶν θεῶν.* The Attic equivalent is *θεωρὸς*, lit. 'one who goes *to see*'.

3. **τὰ νομιζόμενα**—'The customary rites'.

4. **ἵζοντο**—The regular posture of suppliants. Soph. Oed. Tyr. 2, *τίνας ποθ' ἕδρας τάσδε μοι θοάζετε;* Aesch. Supp. 184, *ἄμεινόν ἐστι...πάγον προσίζειν τῶνδ' ἀγωνίων θεῶν.*

5. **χρᾷ**—Of the oracle, to 'declare'; *ἀναιρεῖν* is also used in the same sense: the middle voice, *χρᾶσθαι*, is of the questioners, to 'consult' the oracle, cf. next ch. *χρᾶσθαι τῷ χρηστηρίῳ ὡς ἱκέτας.*

6. **λιπὼν**—The prophetess changes suddenly from the plural to the singular; in the last line (*ἴτον*) she uses the dual. The *θεόπροποι* were probably two in number.

9. **μέσσης**—i.e. *πόλιος.*

10. **ἄζηλα πέλει**—'Unenvied', 'miserable', i.e. 'all things are in sad plight'.

11. **Συριηγενὲς**—'Assyrian'. In the level plain of Mesopotamia, where the Assyrians lived, these chariots, which probably had scythes fixed on their axles, would be used to the greatest advantage.

14. **ῥεούμενοι**—This was a well-known portent, cf. Livy XXII. 1, *Romae signum Martis...sudasse.* Virg. Geor. I. 480,

et moestum illacrimat templis ebur, aeraque sudant. The phenomenon is often produced by a sudden change from cold to warm weather.

16. **προϊδὸν**—'Foreshadowing the constraints of misery'.

17. **ἀδύτοιο**—The *ἄδυτον* was the same as the *μέγαρον*, the 'chamber' in which the inspired priestess sat on the *τριποὺς*, which was placed over a chasm in the earth, from which were supposed to rise the inspiring fumes. Other parts of the temple were the *τέμενος* or sacred enclosure in which the building stood, the *νεὼς*, the general term for the temple itself, and the *ναὸς* or shrine, probably corresponding to the *ἄδυτον*, in temples specially consecrated to some god, and not devoted to the giving of oracles. In the *ναὸς* would stand the image of the deity.

ib. **ἐπικίδνατε**—'Spread a brave spirit over your ills', L. and S. 'Brood on the ills that await ye', Rawlinson.

ib. **θυμὸν**—The word is from a root which means 'to move violently', 'to blow', cf. *spiritus* from *spirare*. Connected with it are *θύω*, *θύνω* I rush, *θύελλα* a storm, *θυιὰς* a raging Bacchante, *θῦμα*, *θυσία* sacrifice, *θυήεις* fragrant, *θύμον* thyme (i.e. the *fragrant* plant). It is the Latin *fumus*[1], Eng. 'dust'.

141. 2. **ἐχρέωντο**—*χρᾶσθαι* with a substantive is often a longer way of expressing a simple verb, thus in VIII. 87, *εὐτυχίῃ χρησαμένῃ* nearly=*εὐτυχήσασα*: VII. 210, *ἀναιδείῃ καὶ ἀβουλίῃ διαχρεώμενοι*=*ἀναιδεῖς καὶ ἄβουλοι ὄντες*, and here the meaning is simply 'were in the deepest distress'. So in ch. 139, *ὁμολογίῃ ἂν ἐχρήσαντο*=*ὡμολόγησαν ἄν*.

ib. **προβάλλουσι**—Not 'when they threw themselves on the ground', but, 'when they were greatly cast down', or, 'gave themselves up for lost'.

5. **ὁμοῖα τῷ μάλιστα**—i.e. *τῷ μάλιστα δοκίμῳ*, 'of equal repute with him who was most so', i.e. 'of the highest reputation'.

6. **ἱκετηρίην**—'A suppliant branch', usually of olive. From an expression *ὑποσκίων ἐκ στομάτων* (Aesch. Supp. 641) they appear to have been held so as to hide the face.

ib. **δεύτερα αὖτις**—This is what is called a pleonasm

[1] Curtius, § 259.

(*πλέων* more) when more is said than is needed to express the idea, cf. *αὖθις αὖ πάλιν*, and below, *αὐτοῦ τῇδε*, and our 'most Highest'.

7. **χρᾶσθαι**—See note on *χρᾷ* in preceding chapter.

ib. **πειθομένοισι**—Governed by *χρᾷ* in line 12, transl. 'when they obeyed this'.

11. **καὶ**—See note on ch. 55.

14. **Παλλὰς**—The protecting goddess of Athens, as Juno of Carthage, Artemis of Ephesus.

16. **πελάσσας**—'Bringing it near (i.e. making it like) to adamant'. It is not known whether adamant (*ἀ, δαμάω*, the untameable) is granite or iron.

17. **Κέκροπος οὖρος**—The land of Attica, of which Cecrops was the first mythical king: Cithaeron was the mountain range that bounded it on the north-west.

19. **Τριτογενεῖ**—An old legend represented Pallas as born at Lake Tritonis in Libya.

ib. **διδοῖ**—'Grants a wooden wall alone to remain undestroyed'.

21. **μηδὲ σύ γε μένειν**—'Nor do thou quietly (*ἥσυχος*) await', *μένειν* for *μένε*, infinitive for imperative.

23. **ἔτι τοι**—'At some future time thou shalt even (*καὶ*) withstand him face to face', i.e. fly from the Persian now, but soon ye shall meet him boldly in battle.

25. **ἤ...συνιούσης**—'Either, I ween (*που*), when the corn-goddess is being scattered or gathered in', i.e. either at sowing time or at harvest.

142. 1. **γὰρ**—See note on ch. 4.

ib. **καὶ...εἶναι**—'Both were and appeared to be', i.e. 'seemed, as indeed they were'. By the Greek idiom, the neuter plural *ταῦτα* takes a singular verb (*ἦν, ἐδόκεε*).

2. **ἀπαλλάσσοντο**—'They departed'. *ἀλλάσσω* is connected with *ἄλλος*, *ἀλλὰ* 'but', *ἀλλήλων*, *ἀλλότριος*, Lat. *alius*, *alienus*, *aliquis*, Eng. 'else', and means 'to change', in the middle, to change oneself or one's position, and so to 'remove', 'depart'. See note on *ἀμειψάμενος*, VIII. 58.

5. **καὶ ἄλλαι...καὶ αἵδε**—Literally, 'there were both many other...and these', in English, 'amongst many other...there were these': cf. ch. 211, *ἄλλα τε ἀποδεικνύμενοι...καὶ φεύγεσκον*, 'amongst many other exploits...they often fled': ch. 224, *πίπτουσι ἄλλοι τε πολλοί, ἐν δὲ δὴ καί...*, 'amongst many others that fell, there were...'.

6. **συνεστηκυῖαι**—'That stood up together', i.e. 'conflicting', cf. *σύστασις γνώμης* (Thuc.), 'a conflict of opinion'.

7. **δοκέειν σφι**—'That it seemed to them'.

8. **περιέσεσθαι**—'Should survive', lit. 'remain over'; cf. ch. 188, *αὐτοί τε περιῆσαν καὶ αἱ νέες αὐτῶν*.

9. **ῥηχῷ**—'Had been guarded by a palisade (of wood)'.

10. **κατὰ τὸν φραγμὸν**—'Answered to (*εἶναι κατὰ*) the palisade': cf. Hdt. I. 121, *πάτερα εὑρήσεις οὐ κατὰ Μιθραδάτην*, 'thou wilt find a father that does not correspond to Mithradates'.

12. **ἀπέντας**—'Disregarding (*ἀφίημι*) everything else'.

14. **ἐσφαλλε**—*τὰ δύο* is the nominative, but invert the order and translate, 'those who said...were baffled by the two last...'.

18. **ἔπεα**—'Lines', cf. IV. 29, *ἔπος Ὁμήρου ἐν Ὀδυσσείῃ*, 'Homer's line in the Odyssey'.

ib. **συνεχέοντο**—'Were confounded *over* (*κατὰ*, lit. with respect to) these lines'. *χέω*, unlike as the two words seem, is from the same root as the Latin *fundo*, it has lost a digamma, as is seen from the future *χεύσω*. Derivatives are in Greek *χοή*, *χύσις* etc., in Latin *fons* (=*fovonts*), *effutire* to chatter, *pour* out words, *futilis* leaky. For initial *f* in Latin = Greek *χ*, cf. *fel* and *χολή*, *fervor* and *θερμός*, *fames* and *χάτις*.

20. **ταύτῃ**—'In this way, that (*ὡς*)'.

143. 1. **ἐς πρώτους**—i.e. his origin was obscure, but he had lately taken his place among the leading statesmen of the day.

3. **ἐκαλέετο**—'The practice of addressing persons by their fathers' names was common in Greece. Ὦ παῖ Κλεινίου, ὦ παῖ Ἱερωνύμου, &c., are usual forms in Plato, especially in addresses to the *young*'. (Rawlinson.)

6. **ἰόντως**—'Really referred to' (εἶχε ἐς).

ib. **οὐκ ἂν...χρησθῆναι**—*ἂν* goes with *χρησθῆναι*, not with *δοκέειν*, and is equivalent to *ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἐχρήσθη*, while *οὕτω* goes with *ἠπίως*: 'he thought (*δοκέειν μιν*) that the oracle would not *have been* given...'. Remember[1] that *ἂν* in apodosis, with a secondary tense (imperfect, aorist) of the *indicative*, following a protasis containing *εἰ* with a secondary tense of the indicative, expresses what *would be* or *would have been* the result if the supposed condition had taken place, *which it has not.* So here, 'if the oracle referred (*εἰ εἶχε*)', or 'had referred...it *would not have been* given'. For *χρησθῆναι ἂν* (= *ἂν ἐχρήσθη*) cf. *ἂν γινόμενα* ch. 15, for *ἂν γίνοιτο*.

8. **εἴπερ γε**—'At least if, as it seemed (*περ*)'.

9. **ἀλλὰ γὰρ**—See note on ch. 4.

10. **συλλαμβάνοντι**—'If a man took it correctly'.

13. **ἀποφαινομένου**—'Declared himself'.

14. **ἔγνωσαν**—*γιγνώσκω* is to know and so to act upon your knowledge, to decide.

ib. **αἱρετώτερα μᾶλλον**—Another instance of a pleonasm, note on *δεύτερα αὖτις*, ch. 141.

15. **οὐκ ἔων**—'Tried to prevent', notice the imperfect. *οὐκ ἐῶ* = 'I prevent', just as *οὐ φημί* (see line 4) = 'I deny'.

16. **τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἶναι**—'And in a word'. A similar *εἶναι*, untranslated in English, is used with *ἑκὼν* 'willing', after a negative; cf. VIII. 116, *οὔτε αὐτὸς ἔφη ἑκὼν εἶναι δουλώσειν*, 'refused himself to be a slave if he could help it': VIII. 30, *οὐκ ἔφασαν ἔσεσθαι ἑκόντες εἶναι προδόται*, 'refused willingly to become the betrayers'. Compare our English expression, 'To be sure!'

17. **ἐκλιπόντας**—*Phocaeorum velut profugit exsecrata civitas*, Horace (B. C. 65—8) Epod. XVI. 17, rather than fall into the hands of Harpagus, Cyrus' lieutenant.

18. **οἰκίζειν**—Such a total desertion of their fatherland as this implied was not, of course, the ordinary method of colonisation. A colony was, as a rule, not the result of compulsion, but of a wish on the part of those who composed it to try their fortunes elsewhere. It was regarded as an offshoot of the mother country, and paid respect to it as such.

[1] Goodwin, § 49. 2.

175. 1. **ἀπίκατο**—For this form see Appendix.

2. **ἐξ**—'By', see note on ch. 18.

3. **ᾗ στήσονται**—'Where they should place the war', i.e. in what part of Greece they should make a stand; what country they should make the 'locale', as we should say.

4. **ἐν οἵοισι**—'And in what kind of ground', i.e. what nature of country, hilly or level, would suit their small army best when arrayed against the vast host of the Persians. Some editors, not seeing the difference between *ᾗ* and *οἵοισι*, have translated the former, 'how they should begin the war'. For **στήσονται** (Greek '*will* place', Eng. '*should* place') see note on *παύσει*, ch. 54: they *said*, *πῇ στησόμεθα*;

ib. **νικῶσα**—'Prevailing', cf. VIII. 9, *πολλῶν λεχθέντων ἐνίκα πορεύεσθαι*, 'it was decided to go'.

6. **ἐφαίνετο ἐοῦσα**—'Evidently was', note on ch. 14.

7. **ἀγχοτέρη**—Comparative of *ἀγχοῦ*, while *ἄγχι* has the irregular form *ἆσσον*. *ἄγχι*, 'near', is closely connected with *ἄγχω*, I press, choke, i.e. bring near, cf. the French *près*, from the Latin *pressè*. Other derivatives are *ἀγχονή* hanging, *ἔναγχος* lately, i.e. *close* to, *ἐγγύς* near, and metaphorically, *ἄχος* grief, i.e. what *presses* one, *ἄχθος* a burden, *ἄχθομαι*: Latin *angor*, *angustus*, *angulus*, corner (where two walls come *near*), *angina*[1] quinsy (compression of the throat), *anxius*; English 'anguish'.

ib. **τῆς ἑωυτῶν**—sc. *γῆς*, 'nearer their own land'. For *γῆ* or a similar word omitted, cf. ch. 55 end, *ἀνήγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀπεναντίον*: VIII. 41, *Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῶν*.

ib. **δι' ἣν**—'Because of which'. *διὰ* with accusative expresses the *reason because of which*, *διὰ* with genitive the *agent by means of which*, a thing was done.

9. **ἐοῦσαν**—'That it existed'.

ib. **ἀπικόμενοι**—A strong aorist, '*after* their arrival', see note on *πρήξας*, ch. 38.

11. **παριέναι**—'To let pass', from *παρίημι*.

13. **Ἱστιαιώτιδος**—The northern part of Euboea was thus known.

[1] Curtius, 190.

14. **ὥστε πυνθάνεσθαι**—A shortened expression for *ὥστε αὐτοὺς δύνασθαι πυνθάνεσθαι.*

ib. **τὰ κατὰ ἑκατέρους**—'The things concerning one another'.

188. 1. **ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς**—The fleet of Xerxes consisted of (1) 1207 triremes from Asia, (2) 3000 penteconters and transport ships, (3) a few ships contributed by the European tribes who joined him. The triremes were manned by a crew of 200 men, of whom about 170 were rowers, the remaining 30 being *ἐπιβάται* or marines. The rowers sat in three rows, one a little above the other, the top row having the longest oars and the hardest work, and consequently the highest pay. These were called *θρανῖται*, while the two succeeding rows were respectively *ζυγῖται* and *θαλαμῖται*. The average speed of a trireme is said to have been 'about that of an ordinary steamboat'. The penteconters were manned by 50 rowers, who all sat on the same level, 25 on each side. The Trireme had now just taken the place of the Penteconter as the war ship of the future.

2. **κατέσχε**—*κατέχειν ἐς*, like *κατάγεσθαι*, means 'to put in to', opposed to *ἀνάγεσθαι*, 'to set sail': **τῆς Μαγνησίης χώρης** must be taken after **αἰγιαλόν.**

4. **Σηπιάδος**—Sepias is the promontory at the extreme south of Magnesia; Castanea lies about 35 miles to the north-west of Sepias. The Persians could hardly have chosen a worse place to lie to, since the coast is harbourless and perfectly open to the north and east.

5. **ἐπ' ἐκείνῃσι**—'Next to these'.

7. **πρόκροσσαι**—'They were moored in rows, turned towards the sea'. The exact meaning of *πρόκροσσαι* is doubtful: *κρόσσαι* means 'battlements', or rather a series of battlements, which from their continued rise and fall would give the observer the idea of a 'row'. So here, the ships were moored in rows, eight deep (*ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ νέας*), and turned towards the sea, while the *πρῶται τῶν νεῶν* were moored by their prows to the land.

ib. **ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ νέας**—Cf. Thuc. IV. 93, *ἐπὶ ἀσπίδας πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτάξαντο*, 'drew themselves up five and twenty shields deep'. So *πλεῖν ἐπὶ κέρας* is 'to sail towards the wing', i.e. in column.

8. **εὐφρόνην**—For the case, see note on ch. 54.

ib. **οὕτω**—sc. ὁρμέοντο.

ib. **ἐξ**—'Instead of', note on ch. 18.

9. **αἰθρίης**—The word is connected with *αἴθειν*, to be bright, to burn; we have also *αἰθὴρ*, and the Latin *aestas* (=*aedtas*) summer, i.e. the bright time; *aestus* heat, tide, from the wavy motion common to each; *aedes* house, temple, originally hearth, fire-place; *aedilis*, originally *temple*-inspector.

ib. **νηνεμίης**—From *νὴ* not, and *ἄνεμος* wind.

10. **πολλὸς**—'Strong', cf. *πολὺς ἦν ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης*, VIII. 59, and note there. Add Ovid (B.C. 43—A.D. 18) Met. XIV. 53, *medio quum plurimus orbe sol erat*, i.e. 'very powerful'.

11. **Ἑλλησποντίην**—Names of winds often end in *-ίας*, cf. Aristophanes (B.C. 444—380?) Eq. 437, *καικίας καὶ συκοφαντίας πνεῖ*, 'there blows a north wind and a—sycophant wind'.

12. **ἔμαθον**—Note on ch. 46.

13. **τοῖσι οὕτω εἶχε**—Note on ch. 60.

ib. **οἱ δὲ**—This '*δὲ* in apodosis' is pleonastic, and is not translated in English.

ib. **ἔφθησαν...ἀνασπάσαντες**—Just like *ἐλάνθανον ἀναβαίνοντες* in ch. 218, see note there. *φθάνω* is 'to be beforehand', 'to be the first', and is followed by a participle instead of an infinitive, like *διατελέω*, 'to continue to...'; e.g. 'he continued to prosper' is *διετέλει εὖ πράττων*, not *εὖ πράττειν*.

15. **μεταρσίας**—'It (ὁ χειμὼν) caught in the open sea': *μετάρσιος*, like *μετέωρος*, is properly 'raised on high', on the *high* seas, as we say.

16. **Ἰπνοὺς καλεομένους**—'The so-called "Ovens"'. A shortened form of *πρὸς τὰς πέτρας τὰς Ἰπνοὺς καλεομένας*: we have the full form in VIII. 77, *τὴν νησῖδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν καλεομένην*, and something like the shortened form in VII. 40, *ἱροὶ Νισαῖοι καλεύμενοι ἵπποι*, i.e. 'sacred horses, called Nisaean horses'. These 'Ovens' are supposed to have been about five miles south of Castanea, at the foot of Mt. Pelion.

19. **ἐξεβράσσοντο**—'Were hurled ashore', cf. ch. 190, *ἐκβρασσόμενα ἀνείλετο*. *βράσσω* means 'to boil': the name of

the Spartan hero, Βρασίδας, is probably from the same root, and means Hot-head[1].

ib. **τοῦ χειμῶνος χρῆμα**—Almost = ὁ χειμών, like *μέγα χρῆμα ὑός*, 'a mighty sight of a pig': cf. *βίη Ἀλκινόοιο*, i.e. 'the mighty Alc.', and Milton's imitation, 'where the might of Gabriel fought'.

190. 1. **πόνῳ**—Here of a disaster at sea, as in VIII. 89, of a battle at sea, but in VII. 224, *Λεωνίδης ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ πίπτει*, of a struggle on land.

ib. **οἱ**—'Those who say that fewest perished, say there perished...' sc. *λέγουσι διαφθαρῆναι* with *οὐκ ἐλάσσονας*. The emphasis being on *ἐλαχίστας*, we may translate, 'the smallest estimate of the loss set it as...'.

5. **μεγάλως**—Goes with *χρηστή*: Herodotus often separates the adverb from the word it qualifies, cf. ch. 143, *οὐκ ἂν οὕτω μιν δοκέειν ἠπίως χρησθῆναι*, where *οὕτω* goes with *ἠπίως*: so, too, he separates substantives from the word that governs them, cf. ch. 100, last clause, where *τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ*, like *τῶν πρωρέων*, is governed by *ἐντός*.

7. **ἀνείλετο**—'Recovered for himself'.

ib. **θησαυροὺς**—'Treasure chests'.

8. **ἄλλα**—i.e. 'gold coin *besides*', cf. VIII. 89, *τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων*, note.

ib. **περιεβάλετο**—Literally, 'put round himself', i.e. 'acquired', cf. VIII. 8, *πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς περιεβάλετο*.

9. **οὐκ εὐτυχέων**—For the translation of the emphatic participle, see note on *ἀνατιθείς*, ch. 54.

10. **ἦν γὰρ**—The *καὶ* seems out of its place, and should be taken as strengthening the *γάρ*. *ἄχαρις* has already occurred in the sense of 'grievous', ch. 138. Translate, 'for indeed there was a grievous misfortune connected with the death (or, murder) of his children that saddened him'. Whether by *παιδοφόνος* is meant that Ameinocles had killed his own children, by accident or otherwise, is uncertain. Perhaps, after all, *καὶ* may go with *τοῦτον*, and so mean 'that vexed him *as well as* others', i.e. he, like all men, had his particular sorrow. Notice the accent on *παιδοφόνος*, 'child-slaying', actively, while *παιδόφονος* would have meant 'slain by a child', passively.

[1] Curtius, 574.

191. 2. **οὐκ ἐπῆν**—'Was not possible', L. and S. Perhaps however the sense is more what is conveyed by the Latin *non exstabat*, i.e. 'there was no calculation made'.

4. **ἐπιθέωνται**—Ionic for *ἐπιθῶνται*, from *ἐπιτίθημι*.

ib. **Θεσσαλοὶ**—The Thessalians had joined Xerxes, but the Persian captains were afraid they might now turn upon them.

6. **καταείδοντες**—Compare with this supposed influence of the magicians over the wind, the power of the Thessalian witches to draw down the moon from the sky.

7. **πρὸς τούτοισι**—'In addition to this'.

8. **ἢ ἄλλως κως**—Herodotus drily suggests that perhaps after all it was not so much the magicians who stopped the wind, as that it stopped of its own accord. He is only credulous up to a certain point, and then his common sense steps in, and decides the matter for him. He can believe, for instance, (VIII. 13 end) that the second terrible storm that overtook the Persian fleet was all the work of heaven (*ἐποιέετο τὸ πᾶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ*), destined to put the two armaments on a more equal footing.

10. **Ἰώνων**—The Ionic Greeks had been forced to join in the expedition against their fatherland. Inhabiting the west coast of Asia Minor, they had been separated from Persia by the intervening dominions of Croesus king of Lydia, but when Croesus was reduced by Cyrus of Persia, they fell under the same conqueror, and their unsuccessful revolt only made their condition worse.

201. 1. **Βασιλεὺς**—Note on ch. 5.

4. **Θερμοπύλαι**—'Hot Gates', so called from the springs in the pass. The main features of the pass are now materially altered, the deposit brought down by the river Spercheius having pushed out the coast line so far, that the narrowest part is now at least three miles wide.

7. **ἐπεκράτεε**—'Was master of all that lay towards (*ἐχόντων πρὸς*) the north'.

9. **νότον καὶ μεσαμβρίην**—*νότος* is the south-west, the quarter of the *νότιοι ἄνεμοι* or rainy winds, *μεσαμβρίη* (*μέση, ἡμέρα*) the south, where the sun is at midday.

ib. **τὸ ἐπὶ**—i. e. 'as far as the mainland of Greece extended southwards'.

202. 3. **ὁπλῖται**—The ὁπλίτης, or heavy-armed warrior, carried a long pike (δόρυ), and a large shield (ὅπλον) that completely covered his body. The πελταστὴς, or light-armed soldier, on the contrary, had a small πέλτα, or target, on his left arm, and carried a short sword and light javelins for throwing.

ib. **Τεγεητέων**—The Arcadians deserve more credit than they have hitherto got, for their patriotic conduct. We see here that they supplied 2120 men in all, more than two-thirds of the whole Peloponnesian force, which is here set down as 3100.

8. **Φλιοῦντος**—Phlius was a semi-independent state, once a tributary of Argos: it was situated about half-way between Corinth and Orchomenus, on the river Asopus.

ib. **Μυκηναίων**—Mycenae, although not what it had been in the days of Agamemnon, still retained its independence. It was not till 12 years after this (in 468) that the Argives, angry perhaps at the devotion which the Mycenaeans now showed to the cause of Greece, attacked the town, and utterly destroyed it. Something of its ancient magnificence has of late been made known to us by the researches of Dr Schliemann.

203. 1. **Λοκροὶ**—The Opuntian Locrians had probably repented of their submission made (ch. 132) to the king, and came πανστρατιῇ to shew the sincerity of their repentance. Their adhesion, with that of the Phocians, brought up the Greek force at Thermopylae to at least 6000 men, thus,

Arcadians	2120
Spartans (ὁπλῖται)	300
Other Peloponnesians	680
Boeotians	1100
Locrians, say	800
Phocians	1000
Total	6000

Pausanias (flourished A.D. 170) says there were 6000 Locrians, but this seems far too high an estimate. The 300 Spartan hoplites does not represent the whole force sent by Sparta,

since each hoplite would have at least one attendant; other writers put the number of Spartans present at 1000.

3. **οἱ Ἕλληνες**—i. e. the Greeks assembled at Thermopylae.

4. **ἥκοιεν**—'Were come', not 'would come'. Latin *se venisse;* notice the difference between the Greek and Latin *oratio obliqua.*

5. **πᾶσαν ἡμέρην**—For the accusative, see note on ch. 54.

6. **σφι εἴη ἐν φυλακῇ**—'Was guarded by them'; for *εἶναι ἐν* in Herodotus, cf. VIII. 99, *ἦσαν ἐν θυσίῃσί τε καὶ εὐπαθίῃσι*: VII. 15, *οἱ πάντως ἐν ἡδονῇ ἐστι.*

8. **σφι εἴη**—'They had nothing to fear', sc. *λέγοντες ὡς.* The Phocians and Locrians specially needed reassuring, because, Thermopylae once passed or turned in flank, their territory would be the next the Persians would occupy.

10. **ἐξ ἀρχῆς γινομένῳ**—'From the moment of his birth'.

11. **οὐ συνεμίχθη**—We had, in ch. 40, the active used in a somewhat similar use, *οὐ συνέμισγον οὗτοι βασιλέϊ.* The word often occurs in the sense of 'mingling in conflict', like the Latin *conserere manum*, ch. 211, *ὡς συνέμισγον τοῖσι Ἕλλησι*: ch. 226, *πρὶν ἢ συμμῖξαι σφέας τοῖσι Μήδοισι.* In VIII. 58 another meaning, 'to share with', 'communicate', appears, *θέλων οἱ κοινόν τι πρῆγμα συμμῖξαι.*

13. **πεσέειν ἄν**—Herodotus often inserts *ἂν* in final clauses with *ὡς*, *ὄφρα*, &c., without any perceptible alteration in the sense[1]. The present instance is very similar, since *πεσέειν ἂν* can be resolved into *ὅτι πέσοι ἄν.*

14. **ἐβοήθεον ἐς**—'Came to help to...', a very common phrase in Hdt. and Thuc.

204. 1. **τούτοισι**—'These indeed had different generals'.

206. 1. **τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην**—'Leonidas and his men', or 'those with L.', cf. ch. 223, *οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι οἱ ἀμφὶ Ξέρξεα, καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην Ἕλληνες.*

3. **στρατεύωνται...μηδίσωσι**—Instead of being changed into the optative after *ἀπέπεμψαν*, these words are kept in the

[1] Goodwin, § 44, Note 3.

subjunctive, thus giving the very words of the Spartans, who said *ἀποπέμπομεν ἵνα στρατεύωνται, μηδὲ...μηδίσωσι.*

4. **ἢν αὐτοὺς**—'If they should hear that they (the Spartans) were lingering'.

5. **Κάρνεια**—A yearly festival to Apollo Carneius, celebrated in August.

6. **ἦν ἐμποδὼν**—See Thuc. IV. 5, where the Spartans *ἑορτήν τινα ἔτυχον ἄγοντες*, and so allowed Demosthenes to fortify Pylus undisturbed; so that this over-regard for religious services sometimes cost the Spartans dearly. See too Thuc. V. 54, *Καρνεῖος δ' ἦν μήν, ἱερομήνια Δωριεῦσι.*

ib. **ὁρτάσαντες**—'After finishing the feast', see note on *πρήξας*, ch. 38.

8. **ὣς**—Notice the accent, which denotes that the meaning is different from the ordinary *ὡς*.

ib. **ἐνενώεντο**—'Had been minded (*νοέομαι*) themselves also'.

9. **'Ολυμπιὰς**—'The Olympic games', generally called *'Ολύμπια*, so named from Olympia in Elis where they were celebrated every four years. The first celebration was in B.C. 776. The Greeks reckoned time by these games, the four years' interval that elapsed between them being called an Olympiad, and they took for their starting-point the first festival, just as we take the birth of Christ. Thus B.C. 776 was the *first* Olympiad, B.C. 775 the first Olympiad and one year, B.C. 772 the second Olympiad, and so on.

10. **οὔκων**—Note on ch. 15.

11. **κατὰ τάχος οὕτω**—Another instance of *οὕτω* misplaced. It properly goes before *κατὰ τάχος*, see note on *μεγάλως*, ch. 190.

ib. **διακριθήσεσθαι**—'Would be decided'. *κρίνω* and the Latin *cerno*, 'I see', are from the same root, which means to separate or cut. In Greek the word is generally restricted to cutting or measuring out justice or decisions, while in Latin the idea is to *separate* things from one another by the eyes, i.e. to *see* them.

207. 2. **πέλας τῆς ἐσβολῆς**—'Near the entrance'. Latin has only two cases which are 'governed' by prepositions, the accusative and ablative; Greek has three, the accusative, dative,

and genitive. But even in Greek the true genitive was originally never joined with prepositions unless there was a clear *noun* sense in those prepositions for the genitive to depend upon, thus ἀντί, 'instead of', was originally regarded as a case of a true noun, 'in the *stead*', and the genitive that followed depended on the noun. By degrees this dependence became obscured, but the Latin fully bears out the view, where the genitive only occurs after such obvious noun-forms as *causâ*, *gratiâ*. πέλας then is a substantive, probably an old ablative form (cf. ἀτρεμὰς, ἑκὰς), and means 'in the vicinity'.

3. **ἀπαλλαγῆς**—We have already had the verb ἀπαλλάσσομαι, meaning 'to depart'.

5. **ἐλθοῦσι...ἔχειν**—'To go...and hold'.

6. **περιεσπερχεόντων**—'Were very eager'. For other instances of this intensive περί, see note on ch. 15. In form it is the same as the preposition περί, with which it probably has no connection, but is derived from πέρα, 'beyond', and so 'excessive'. The original meaning is seen in *pereger*, a foreigner, i.e. one who lives *beyond* our land; compare *perende*, which properly means 'a day *beyond*', but is specialized to mean 'the day after to-morrow'.

9. **ὀλίγων**—'Too few to repulse'.

208. 2. **ὁκόσοι εἰσὶ καὶ...ποιέοιεν**—The change of mood is to be noticed; Xerxes *said*, 'see ὁκόσοι εἰσὶ καὶ ὅ τι ποιέουσι'.

4. **ἁλισμένη**—'Collected'. We have had the active in ch. 12, προεῖπας ἁλίζειν Πέρσας στρατόν, and cf. ch. 211, ἁλέες φεύγεσκον δῆθεν, 'they pretended to fly *in a body*'. The word is from the same root as εἴλω press, ἀολλέες crowded, ἡλιαία the 'crowded assembly', ἅλις enough, lit. 'in abundance'.

5. **τοὺς ἡγεμόνας**—For the construction see note on ch. 18, στόλον ὡς ἔπρηξε.

7. **Ἡρακλείδης**—The royal race of Sparta was supposed to be descended from Hyllus, son of Hercules.

8. **κατώρα**—Attic καθεώρα, imperfect of καθοράω.

9. **ἀνορθώσαντες εἶχον**—A good instance of the difference between the aorist and imperfect, the aorist implying a single definite act in the past ('they had raised'), the imperfect a con-

tinuous uncompleted act ('and were guarding'). Cf. VIII. 64, *ἡμέρη τε ἐγίνετο καὶ σεισμὸς ἐγένετο*, and note there.

10. **οἷά τε ἦν**—*οἷός τέ εἰμι* means 'I am the sort of man', and so, 'I am able'; it has passed into a phrase, and here means 'it was possible'. The *τε* is one of those instances referred to in the end of the note on *ἐπεί τε*, ch. 43, where the *τε* is kept in Attic, but not translated.

11. **τοῖσι...τὰ ὅπλα ἔκειτο**—'Whose arms were placed', *κεῖμαι* being virtually the passive of *τίθημι*. See VIII. 41, where *ἔσπευσαν ταῦτα ὑπεκθέσθαι* is followed in the end of the chapter by *ὡς δέ σφι πάντα ὑπεξέκειτο*.

12. **ἔτυχον τεταγμένοι**—'Happened to be drawn up', like *ἔφθησαν ἀναστάσαντες*, ch. 188.

14. **τὰς κόμας**—Long hair was once a characteristic of all the Greeks, if we may judge from Homer's *καρηκομόωντες Ἀχαιοί*, and the Spartans always wore it so. Shortly before the time of Thucydides, the custom of wearing it in a knot, fastened up with golden grasshoppers (Thuc. I. 6), was given up, and it was worn long only by youths till about their eighteenth year, when it was cut off and dedicated to some deity. To wear long hair after this age was considered a mark of effeminacy, except among the knights.

17. **ἀλογίης**—'He was treated with (lit. met with) complete disregard' or 'contempt': cp. ch. 226, *ἐν ἀλογίῃ ποιεύμενον τὸ τῶν Μήδων πλῆθος*, 'despising the multitude of the Persians'.

209. 1. **οὐκ εἶχε συμβαλέσθαι**—Like *οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι* in ch. 60, 'was not able to guess'.

ib. **τὸ ἐὸν, ὅτι**—'The truth, that...'. For this emphatic sense of *ἐών*, cf. VIII. 41, *ὡς ἐόντι ἐπιμήνια ἐπιτελέουσι*, 'perform offerings to it (the snake), as though it really existed', and the adverb *ἐόντως*, 'really', ch. 143.

3. **ἐφαίνοντο ποιέειν**—For the distinction between this and *ἐφαίνοντο ποιοῦντες*, see note on ch. 14.

7. **καὶ πρότερον**—i.e. 'before as well as now'.

9. **γέλωτά με ἔθευ**—'You made me your laughingstock', middle voice, 'when I told you what I saw (*τάπερ ὥρων*) would happen'.

10. **τὴν ἀληθηίην**—The Persians considered lying the worst vice of all, see Hdt. I. 138, the next worst was to owe money, because the very position of a debtor argued a kind of untruth. This is the force of the expression in the end of this chapter, *ἐμοὶ χρᾶσθαι ὡς ἀνδρὶ ψεύστῃ*, i.e. 'deal with me as the worst of men'.

11. **ἀγὼν μέγιστος**—'My highest endeavour'.

12. **οἱ ἄνδρες**—Demaratus, the exiled king of Sparta, was the very best man to give Xerxes information about the Spartans.

15. **κοσμέονται**—Nelson had a similar custom. 'He wore that day (Trafalgar), as usual, his admiral's frock-coat, bearing on the left breast four stars of the different orders with which he was invested. Ornaments which rendered him so conspicuous a mark for the enemy were beheld with ominous apprehension by his officers'. Southey, *Life of Nelson*, p. 333.

16. **ὑπομένον**—'What remains behind', but *ὑπομενέει* below is 'will withstand thee'.

18. **χεῖρας ἀνταειρόμενον**—Cf. ch. 143 end, *οὐδὲ χεῖρας ἀνταείρεσθαι*.

19. **βασιληίην**—We may understand *καλλίστην* from what follows, 'the finest kingdom and city': or it may be perhaps better to take *βασιληίην* by itself, in the sense of 'a kingdom', as distinguished from the other petty republics, and therefore more worthy of consideration.

20. **προσφέρεαι**—Either (1) 'thou hast to deal with', or (2) 'thou art attacking', cf. 210, *ὡς δ' ἐπέπεσον φερόμενοι*.

ib. **ἀρίστους**—The Spartan infantry were known, as were the Athenian seamen, to be the best of their kind. Their supremacy remained uncontested until the battle of Leuctra, B.C. 371, when they had to yield to the Theban attack in column.

22. **ὅντινα τρόπον**—For the adverbial accusative see note on ch. 60.

ib. **τοσοῦτοι**—i.e. 'so few'.

24. **χρᾶσθαι**—Infinitive for imperative, as in ch. 141, *μηδὲ σύ γ' ἱπποσύνην τε μένειν...ἀλλ' ὑποχωρεῖν*.

ib. **ταύτῃ ἐκβῇ τῇ**—'Shall turn out in the way which'. *ἐὰν* with subjunctive should always be translated 'if it *shall*', distinguishing it from *εἰ* with indicative and with optative, thus *εἰ ἔχει* is 'if he has', *ἐὰν ἔχῃ*, 'if he shall have', *εἰ ἔχοι*, 'if he were to have'.

210. 2. **αἰεὶ**—Attic *ἀεὶ*, Homeric *αἰὲν*, is from a root that probably means 'to go', thus *αἰών*, time, is that which is always 'on the move', cf. *ἀΐ-διος* everlasting, Latin *aevum*, *aeternus* (=*aeviternus*), *aetas* (=*aevitas*).

5. **διαχρεώμενοι**—The force of the preposition is 'displaying to the full', 'making a thorough show of': cf. the compounds *ἀποχράομαι* 'use to the full', *καταχράομαι* 'use up', 'destroy', *παραχράομαι* 'misuse', 'disregard', see ch. 223, end.

6. **Κισσίους**—Cissia was the Elam of Scripture, and its capital was Susa, cf. Daniel viii. 2, 'I was at Shushan in the palace, which is in the province of Elam': Acts ii. 9, 'Parthians and Medes and Elamites'. Cissia was bounded on the west and south by the Tigris and the Persian Gulf, on the north by Assyria.

7. **ζωγρήσαντας ἄγειν**—'To take them alive and bring them': *ζωγρέω* from *ζῶον*, *ἀγρέω* I hunt.

ib. **ἐπέπεσον...ἔπιπτον**—'When they fell upon (aorist, single act)...many were falling', imperfect, continued act; note on *ἀνορθώσαντες εἶχον*, ch. 208.

9. **καίπερ**—'Although', always followed by a participle, as is *ἅτε*, cf. *ἅτε μαχόμενοι*, 211.

10. **προσπταίοντες**—Cf. *προσπταισάντων τῶν πρώτων*, ch. 22, note there.

ib. **παντί τεῳ**—*τεῳ* for *τινί*, 'to every one'.

11. **ἄνθρωποι...ἄνδρες**—So Cicero, writing to his brother Quintus (II. 11), says, 'If you appreciate the genius of Lucretius, *virum te putabo* (I'll think you a true man); but if you manage to get to the end of some other dry treatise, *hominem non putabo*', 'I shall not think you a human being at all'. Cf. too Cic. Verr. 5. 31, '*Sic vixit Verres ut vir accumberet* (sat at table) *nemo praeter ipsum et filium: etsi recte dixeram virum, cum isti essent, neminem fuisse*'.

12. **δι' ἡμέρης**—'Was going on (*ἐγίνετο*, imperfect) all

through the day', cf. VI. 12, *παρεῖχε τοῖσι Ἴωσι πόνον δι' ἡμέρης*, 'was giving the Ionians work all day long': also of distance 'through which', VIII. 71, *οἰκοδόμεον διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τεῖχος*, 'right across the isthmus.

211. 1. **τρηχέως περιείποντο**—'Were being roughly handled'. *ἕπω* (better known in the middle *ἕπομαι* I follow) means 'I busy myself about something', the passive *ἕπομαι*, only used in compounds, is 'I am treated'. Other compounds are *ἀμφιέπω* tend, *διέπω* manage, *ἐφέπω* accompany, *μεθέπω* pursue, carry through. *ἕπομαι* (=*σέπομαι*) is the Latin *sequor*, from which come *secundus* favourable, lit. *following*, *pedissequa* lackey, *socius* ally.

2. **ὑπεξήισαν**—For the meaning of verbs compounded with *ὑπεκ-*, see on *ὑπεκθέσθαι*, VIII. 41.

ib. **ἐκδεξάμενοι**—'Taking their place'.

4. **ὡς δή**—The *δὴ* is ironical, 'as though, of course', like *φεύγεσκον δῆθεν* below, 'pretended to fly'. *γε* emphasises *οὗτοι*, having much the same effect as to print the word in italics would have in English.

5. **εὐπετέως**—'Easily', lit. 'favourably', from *εὐ*, *πίπτω*, a metaphor from dice *falling* well. Metaphors of this kind were not uncommon, Thuc. has *ἀναρριπτεῖν κίνδυνον*, 'to hazard the throw of danger', and Aeschylus has *τύχαι εὐπροσωπόκοιται*, 'fortunes that fall and show a favourable face (*προσώπον*)'.

6. **οὐδὲν πλέον ἐφέροντο**—'Advanced not a whit the more', cf. *ἐπέπεσον φερόμενοι*, last ch.

7. **ἅτε ... μαχόμενοι**—'Since they fought', see note on *καίπερ*, ch. 210.

8. **βραχυτέροισι**—In fighting at a distance, the Greeks would, as a rule, throw their spears, the Persians would use bows and arrows. But the fighting at Thermopylae seems to have been entirely a hand-to-hand affair, and so the Persians, with their shorter weapons, would not be able to reach the Greeks over the close hedge of long pikes that barred the pass.

10. **ἀξίως λόγου**—'In a manner worthy of their reputation', cf. VIII. 10, end, *'Αθηναίων λόγος ἦν πλεῖστος*, 'the reputation of the Athenians was very high'.

ib. **ἄλλα τε...καὶ**—See note on ch. 142.

11. **ἐξεπιστάμενοι**—'Knowing full well': the force of the preposition must not be disregarded, so *κατέβαλλον*, l. 16, 'shot down'.

14. **καταλαμβανόμενοι**—'When overtaken'.

ib. **ὑπέστρεφον ἂν**—*ἂν* with the imperfect often denotes repeated action, as we say 'would turn about', cf. Aristoph. Plut. 1011, *νηττάριον ἂν καὶ φάττιον ὑπεκορίζετο*, 'he would call me fond names, little duck and dove'.

15. **μεταστρεφόμενοι**—'Wheeling round': *μετὰ* in compounds often denotes 'change', see note on *μεταδεδογμένων*, ch. 13.

18. **παραλαβεῖν**—*οὐδὲν* is accusative after *παραλαβεῖν*, 'to get no advantage', while *τῆς ἐσοδοῦ* is governed by *πειρεώμενοι*, 'in their attempts on the pass'.

19. **κατὰ τέλεα**—'When they attacked both by divisions and in every other way', cf. *κατὰ τάξις τε καὶ κατὰ ἔθνεα*, ch. 212,

212. 1. **οἱ βάρβαροι**—*βάρβαρος* and the Latin *balbus* (stammering) are from the same root, meaning probably 'unintelligible', the Greeks naming all foreigners alike from the (to them) indistinctness of their speech. Thus Aristophanes speaks of the birds as *βάρβαροι*, i.e. 'inarticulate'. The Egyptians, according to Herod. (II. 158), called by the name of 'barbari' all those *μὴ σφίσι ὁμογλώσσους*. The term 'Berbers', applied to the Moors, is the same; Gibbon thinks (ch. 51, note) that it 'was borrowed from the Latin provincials [settled in N. Africa] by the Arabian conquerors, and has justly settled as a local denomination (Barbary) along the Northern Coast of Africa'.

3. **ὀλίγων**—'Since *the Greeks* were few in number'.

6. **ἔθνεα**—*ἔθνος* means (1) a collection of people, a crowd, (2) as here, a tribe, (3) in the New Test. *τὰ ἔθνη*=*the* nations, the other nations, the Gentiles, as opposed to the Jews.

ib. **ἐν μέρεϊ**—i.e. relieving one another in turn at the front of the battle.

8. **οὐδὲν ἀλλοιότερον**—'Found nothing different to what...' *ἀλλοῖος* is sometimes used of a change for the worse, *ἵνα μή τι*

ἀλλοῖον περὶ σεῦ βουλεύσωνται, 'that they may not make some unfavourable decision...'. So the adverb ἄλλως means 'otherwise than is right', i.e. 'in vain'. Some think that ἀλλοιότερον here is used in a good sense, 'found nothing *better*', but the sense given above appears to be the true one.

213. 1. **χρήσεται**—Translate 'what he *should* do': Xerxes *said* ἀπορῶ ὅτι χρήσομαι, just as, below, Epialtes thought δοκέω οἴσεσθαι, and the Greek idiom, to give more vividness to the story, keeps the verb in the same tense. See on παύσει, ch. 54.

5. **τὴν ἀτραπὸν**—Brennus and his Gauls are said to have used this same path in their passage into Greece. A similar path was the ultimate cause of the surrender of the Lacedaemonians at Sphacteria (Thuc. IV. 36). They were defending themselves with some success, when a Messenian led a small Athenian force round by a path over the cliffs, and appeared in the Spartan rear.

9. **Ἀμφικτυόνων**—The Amphictyonic council represented the *religious* union of the Hellenic tribes, the word meaning those who 'dwell around', 'neighbours'. It was in no sense a *federal* union, or league for offensive or defensive warfare, such as the United States of America, or the Cantons of Switzerland. At first there was nothing political about it, and its chief object was to be a court regulating matters of religion, especially the religion of warfare, and to preserve the honour of the temple of Apollo at Delphi. Thus Athens and Sparta were not directly represented at the Council, but only appeared as part of the Ionic and Dorian tribes respectively. The union probably originated in the south of Thessaly, and this will account for such small tribes as Malians and Oetaeans ranking equally with Ionians and Dorians. Each tribe sent two or three deputies, certain of which were called Πυλαγόροι, to the meetings of the Council, which were held at the temple of Demeter at Thermopylae in the autumn, at the temple of Apollo at Delphi in the spring. In after times the authority of the Amphictyons in matters of religion was taken advantage of by states who wished to serve a political purpose; thus they were induced to proclaim a sacred war against the Phocians for cultivating some consecrated land.

10. **ἐπεκηρύχθη οἱ**—'Was set on his head'.

ib. **κατῆλθε**—*κατέρχομαι, καθοδὸς* are the regular words used of an exile's *return* to his native land.

11. **'Αντικύρην**—Probably his native place, as Anticyra was an island in the Malian Gulf. It was celebrated for producing the hellebore, a herb supposed to cure madness, cf. Hor. *A. P.* 300, *tribus Anticyris caput insanabile*, and, speaking of a supposed madman, he says (*Sat.* II. 3. 166), *Naviget Anticyram.*

14. **σημανέω**—This promise is never fulfilled. Herodotus probably did not live to complete his history, in the sense of fully revising it, though he brings the story of the Persian wars to a proper conclusion.

215. 1. **ἤρεσε**—Read *ηρεσε*. A nominative must be understood out of *τὰ*, 'since *those things* pleased him which...'; and so below *ἔπεμπε τῶν ἐστρατήγεε* 'Υδάρνης, an accusative has to be supplied out of *τῶν*.

4. **περὶ λύχνων ἁφὰς**—The time of day, when there were no clocks, was best marked by men's different occupations, so we have *ἐς ἀγορῆς κου μάλιστα πληθώρην*, ch. 223, 'about the time of full market', and *περὶ πλήθουσαν ἀγορὰν* in the same sense. Other instances are, *μέχρις οὗ ἀγορῆς διαλύσιος*, Hdt. III. 104, 'until the breaking up of the market': *βουλυτόνδε*, 'towards evening', lit. 'the loosening of the oxen', Horace's '*sol ubi...juga demeret bobus fatigatis*: *ἡνίχ' ἕσπεροι λαμπτῆρες οὐκέτ' ᾖθον*, Soph. *Ajax* 285: and cf. 1 Kings xix. 36 'It came to pass, about the time of the offering of the evening sacrifice'.

5. **ἁφὰς**—*ἅπτω* is properly 'I tie'; 'fasten'; in the middle, 'I touch', and the idea of 'kindling' a fire comes from the notion of contact. Derivatives are *ἀπάτη* deceit, properly 'fastening', *ἀπαφίσκω* deceive, while *ἅμμα* knot, and *ἀπήνη* team (cf. *jugum* from *jungo*) retain the original meaning. Latin *apiscor, adipiscor, aptus.*

7. **κατηγήσαντο ἐπὶ**—'Guided against', *καθηγέομαι* taking a dative after it as in VI. 102, *ἐς τοῦτό σφι κατηγέετο* 'Ιππίης. Others have translated, 'told it to the Thessalians to the injury of the Phocians', but the verb is common in Herod. in the meaning first given.

9. **ἦσαν ἐν**—See note on ch. 203.

ib. **ἐκ τόσου δὴ**—sc. *χρόνου*, 'from so *very* (*δὴ*) long ago'.

9. **κατεδέδεκτο**—'It had been proved (*καταδείκνυμι*) no good to the Malians[1], i.e. they had always made a bad use of this path.

217. 1. **οὕτω ἔχουσαν**—We must paraphrase, to get the right meaning: 'Such then was the path, and such its nature, by which...'.

4. **τε...καὶ**—'As soon as...then'; for other instances, see on VIII. 84.

ib. **διέφαινε...ἐγένοντο**—Here again, as in ch. 208 (*ἀνορθώσαντες εἶχον*), the imperfect denotes a continuous, the aorist a momentary act: 'day was dawning, they found themselves'.

5. **κατὰ τοῦτο**—'At this point'.

9. **ὑπὸ τῶν εἴρηται**—The fuller form would be *ὑπὸ ἐκείνων οὓς εἴρηται*, cf. ch. 39, *ἐκέλευε τοῖσι* (=*ἐκείνους οἷσι*) *προσετέτακτο*: ch. 215, *ἔπεμπε τῶν ἐστρατήγεε Ὑδάρνης*.

10. **ὑποδεξάμενοι**—'Undertaking it for', or, 'under a promise to Leonidas'.

218. 1. **ἔμαθον**—See note on ch. 46.

2. **ἀναβαίνοντες ἐλάνθανον**—So *ἐλάνθανε ἔχων*, VIII. 5, 'secretly kept', lit. 'escaped notice keeping'. Sometimes the construction is reversed, and *λανθάνω* put in the participle, as in VIII. 75, *λαθὼν ἐξέρχεται*.

ib. **τὸ οὖρος ἐὸν**—Probably not governed by *ἀναβαίνοντες*, but an accusative absolute, 'since the whole mountain was'.

8. **ἐνεκύρησαν**—Here with the dative, in ch. 208 it occurred with the genitive, *ἀλογίης ἐνεκύρησε πολλῆς*.

9. **καταρρωδήσας**—His experience of the past few days had taught Hydarnes to have a seasonable dread of the Spartan soldier.

10. **ποδαπὸς**—Latin *cujas?* of what country?

12. **ὡς ἐς μάχην**—Simply, 'for battle', not, 'as if for battle', so below, l. 15, *παρεσκευάδατο ὡς ἀπολεόμενοι*, 'prepared to die'. So in ch. 213, *ὡς δοκέων οἴσεσθαι*, 'thinking that he would get'.

14. **ἐπιστάμενοι**—Not, as generally, 'knowing', but, 'thinking', or, as we say, 'making sure', cf. VIII. 97.

15. ἀρχήν—Literally, 'as a beginning', i.e. 'on purpose', 'expressly', so in VII. 220, ἐς τὴν ἦλθον φυλάξοντες ἀρχήν, 'to which they came on purpose to guard it'.

17. ἐποιεῦντο—'took no heed of', 'made of no account', Lat. *minimi, flocci facere.*

222. 1. ἀποπεμπόμενοι—In spite of their successful resistance, many of the Greeks had wished to retreat from Thermopylae, and accordingly Leonidas sent away all the other allies except those here specially mentioned as staying. Besides the glory he would win for himself and his nation, a further inducement to Leonidas to stay had been an oracle which declared that Sparta must lose either her king or her city, so he prepared to sacrifice himself for his country.

ib. οἴχοντο—*οἴχομαι* is 'I am gone', *οἴχοντο*, 'were gone', cf. *οἴχοντο φεύγοντες* in the last ch.

2. ἀπιόντες—*εἶμι*, 'I will go', loses its future sense in the participle and other moods.

4. Θηβαῖοι—One does not quite see how the Thebans, 400 in number (ch. 202), *could* have been detained against their will by only 300 Spartans, some of whom had already fallen. But we must remember that these Spartans had each at least one attendant, and probably more than one, and no doubt the Thespians would give their assistance. The best view of the case, however, is to suppose that Herodotus is mistaken, and that the Thebans did remain willingly, not indeed that they might resist the Persians to the last, as the Spartans did, but that they might gain favour with Xerxes by going over to his side in the middle of the final struggle. After Thermopylae the Thebans certainly sided openly with Xerxes, and now, to excuse themselves for appearing in the ranks of his enemies, they would naturally tell him that they had been detained by force. This is the view taken by Mr Grote, *Hist. Greece* III. 438 and notes.

6. ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ—See note on λόγος, ch. 41.

ib. Θεσπιέες—As Thespiae was in Boeotia, and, Thermopylae once passed, would be at the mercy of the Persians, their best chance was to fight. The subsequent distress of the surviving Thespians is painfully illustrated by the fact that in the battle of Plataea in the following year, they had no heavy

armour (Herod. IX. 30). After the final repulse of Xerxes, they were forced to recruit their city by the admission of new citizens (Herod. VIII. 75). There was a tradition that the 80 Mycenaeans remained too, and so incurred the enmity of Argos (note on ch. 202).

7. **οὐκ ἔφασαν**—*οὐ φημὶ* is treated almost as one word, 'I refuse'.

223. 2. **ἐπισχὼν**—'Having waited'; so VIII. 5, *τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπισχεῖν ὧδε ποιέει*, 'he makes the Greeks to wait'.

ib. **μάλιστα**—See note on ch. 22, and for the whole expression, note on *περὶ λύχνων ἀφὰς*, ch. 215.

3. **πρόσοδον ἐποιέετο**—'Began to make (imperfect tense) his attack.' A more usual sense of *πρόσοδος* is what 'comes in' to a city, i.e. its revenue or *income*. We have also in this ch. *περίοδος* (l. 7) a road round, a circuit, and *ἔξοδος* (l. 10) a sallying forth.

9. **τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἔξοδον**—'A rush upon death', i.e. 'were only rushing forward to meet their doom'.

12. **ἐφυλάσσετο**—'Used to be guarded,' i.e. on the occasion of the previous fights.

ib. **ἀνὰ τὰς προτέρας**—*ἀνὰ* literally means 'from bottom to top', exactly the reverse of *κατά*: Herod. uses it to mean 'throughout,' cf. VIII. 10, *ἀνὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα*, also of time, as in VIII. 123, *τῷ ἀξιωτάτῳ γενομένῳ ἀνὰ τὸν πόλεμον*, 'to the man who had showed himself most worthy throughout the war'. It is also used distributively, cf. *ἐλαύνειν ἀνὰ πέντε παρασάγγας τῆς ἡμέρας*, 'to march *at the rate of* five parasangs a day': *κλισίας ἀνὰ πεντήκοντα*, companies at the rate of fifty (to each), E.V. 'by fifties in a company', S. Luke IX. 14.

14. **συμμίσγοντες**—Cf. *πρὶν ἢ συμμῖξαι σφέας τοῖσι Μήδοισι*, ch. 226, and note on ch. 202.

15. **τελέων**—'The companies', cf. *κατὰ τέλεα προσβάλλοντες*, ch. 211.

16. **ἐρράπιζον**—So Xenophon, in his account of the retreat of the Ten Thousand, says *ἐνταῦθα ἐπιγίγνονται οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἔβαλλον ἐσφενδόνων ἐτόξευον ὑπὸ μαστίγων*, Anab. III. 4. 25. It was of course to the contingents sent by the subject allies, not to the Persians themselves, that the lash was used.

18. διεφθείροντο—'Were drowned'. We have had the same word used of ships being 'wrecked', in ch. 190.

19. λόγος οὐδεὶς—'No consideration was shown for a dying man'. Cf. IV. 135, *ἄνδρας, τῶν ἦν ἐλάχιστος ἀπολλυμένων λόγος,* 'those men whose deaths were of least account'.

20. τὸν μέλλοντα...ἐκ τῶν—'The death that was sure to come upon them at the hands of those...'.

22. ἀπεδείκνυντο—'Showed forth', so *ἀπόδειξις* is used of a rhetorical 'display'. The root is *δικ*, to show or point, from which come *δίκη* justice, Latin *judex* (=*jus-dex*) lit. '*law-pointer*', *index, in-dic-ium* proof, *dico* I say or mark, *disco* (=*dic-sco*, I begin to mark) I learn; English *teach*. The change from *d* to English *t* is quite regular, cf. *δύω* two, *δέμω* timber, &c.

23. παραχρεώμενοι—'Reckless of their lives', literally, 'misusing'.

224. 2. ἐτύγχανε κατεηγότα—Like *ἔτυχον ἔξω τεταγμένοι*, ch. 208.

ib. διεργάζοντο—Latin *confecerunt*, 'dispatched'.

6. οὐνόματα—The names would be preserved at Sparta. One of the Three Hundred, named Aristodemus, who through sickness had not been present at Thermopylae, was insulted and called 'Aristodemus the coward' on his return to Sparta. He recovered his fair fame at the battle of Plataea.

8. ἄλλοι τε ... καὶ—Note on ch. 142.

ib. ἐν δὲ—'And amongst them'.

13. ἐπέδωκε—'Gave besides' (*ἐπί*), i.e. in addition to the usual dowry (*προίξ*).

15. ὑπὲρ τοῦ νεκροῦ—We are reminded of the struggles between the heroes in the Iliad, for the bodies of the slain.

225. 1. ὠθισμὸς—The exact nature of the position will best be realised by a quotation. 'In some parts of the column the combatants were so closely locked as to be almost unable, for a while, to give the least movement to their chargers; and whenever the red-coated horseman thus found himself in-wedged and surrounded by assailants, it was only...by seizing now and then an occasion for a thrust or a cut, that he was

able to keep himself among the living......If this struggle ***bore closer resemblance to the fights of earlier ages than*** **to those of modern times, it had also the characteristic of being less destructive than might be imagined to life and limb.' Kinglake's Crimea, Vol. IV. ch. 5, Narrative of the Battle of Balaklava.**

2. **ἐς ὅ**—'Until,' meaning exactly the same as *μέχρι οὗ* below. For the force of the prepositions in *ὑπεξείρυσαν*, see note on VIII. 41.

3. **συνεστήκεε**—'This conflict was going on', cf. ch. 142, *γνῶμαι...συνεστηκυῖαι μάλιστα*, 'most conflicting'.

6. **τὸ νεῖκος**—Another of Herodotus' poetical expressions; indeed here, in his description of this last struggle, his language has quite an Homeric cast. Not to mention the hint at the fight over the corpse of Leonidas, we have such words as *ἐτεροιοῦτο, παραμειψάμενοι, ἀλεξομένους* &c. No doubt the historian is carried away by the grandeur of the scene he is describing, and feels it to be, what it really is, Greece's second and best epic poem. Cf. Hom. Il. 12. 361, *ἐνθάδε περ πόλεμος καὶ νεῖκος ὄρωρεν*: 16. 362, *γίγνωσκε μάχης ἑτεραλκέα νίκην*.

7. **παραμειψάμενοι**—Just as *ἀλλάσσω*, 'I change', in the middle comes to mean 'I depart', so *ἀμείβω* in the middle is 'to leave', 'pass by'; cf. *Σπερχειὸν ἀμειψάμενοι*, ch. 228.

9. **ὅκου νῦν**—These are the words of one who had evidently seen the place himself. The lion was the heraldic device of the Spartan kings, but the statue was probably not without reference to the name Leonidas.

11. **μαχαίρῃσι**—This seems to be the same weapon as the *ξίφος* in the preceding chapter; as a rule *μάχαιρα* is a knife, dirk, as distinguished from *ξίφος*, a broadsword. The word is from the same root as *μάχομαι* I cut, fight, *μάχη* battle, Latin *macto* I slaughter, *macellum* meat-market: *macer* soft, thin, and *maceria* a wall of soft clay, are from another root, connected with *μάσσω* I knead.

ib. **τοῖσι αὐτῶν ἐτύγχανον**—'Those of them to whom their swords still happened to remain'.

12. **κατέχωσαν**—'The combatants on each side at this spot began to hurl against one another some of those loose pieces of rock which there strewed the ground. By some of our officers this Homeric resource was regarded as 'unsoldierly'. Kinglake, Crimea, Vol. V. ch. 6, Battle of Inkerman.**

226. 2. **λέγεται**—For the original meaning of λέγω, see note on ἀπολελεγμένοι, ch. 40. Notice the compounds ἀπολέγεσθαι to choose, διαλέγειν to separate, διαλέγεσθαι to converse, ἐπιλέγεσθαι to read (Herod.), καταλέγειν to tell a tale, συλλέγειν to collect.

6. **ἀπιέωσι**—For the form, cf. ἐπιθέωνται, ch. 191, ὀφθέωσι, VIII. 7.

ib. **ἐν ἀλογίῃ**—Cf. ἀλογίης ἐνεκύρησε πολλῆς, ch. 208 end.

9. **πάντα ἀγαθά**—Translate, 'nothing but good'.

10. **εἰ ἔσοιτο ἡ μάχη**—'Since the battle against them (πρὸς αὐτοὺς) would be'. The Future Optative is used only in indirect discourse after *secondary* tenses, to represent a Future Indicative of the direct discourse. Here then, εἶπεν ὡς ἀγγέλλοι...εἰ...ἔσοιτο = (in the direct) ἀγγέλλει...εἰ ἔσται.

227. 1. **μετὰ τουτον**—'Next to him', see on μετὰ τούτους, ch. 55.

ib. **ἀριστεῦσαι**—After the war was over, the Greeks met at the Isthmus of Corinth ἀριστήϊα δώσοντες τῷ ἀξιωτάτῳ γενομένῳ Ἑλλήνων, VIII. 123. Cf. too Soph. Ajax, 435, τὰ πρῶτα καλλιστεῖ' ἀριστεύσας στρατοῦ.

3. **Θεσπιέων**—'Of the Thespians *he* was most renowned'; supply a nominative out of τῷ.

228. 1. **αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ**—'There, in the very place'.

2. **τοῖσι τελευτήσασι**—There is a slight difficulty here. Herodotus says that this first epitaph was over *all* the dead, including those who had fallen in the first days' fighting, before Leonidas sent the bulk of the allies away. But the words of the inscription itself clearly show that it was for the *Peloponnesians* alone. Then follows one for the Spartans, as distinct from the rest of the Peloponnesians. Thus the Thespians, Thebans, Locrians and Phocians are uncommemorated by any epitaph. Herodotus has evidently fallen into a slight error.

5. **ἐμάχοντο**—Herodotus regards the distich as an epitaph over the *slain*, but it is clearly only an inscription in honour of *all* those Peloponnesians who fought.

6. **χιλιάδες τέτορες**—Herodotus has only told us of 3100 Peloponnesians (ch. 203, note) being present at the first en-

gagements in the pass. But it has been stated by other writers that a body of Lacedaemonians (i.e. probably Perioeci, as distinguished from the genuine Spartan stock), 700 in number according to some, 1000 according to others, accompanied the Three Hundred. Whichever amount be accepted, it will bring the total to a figure which may well be expressed in round numbers as 4000.

9. **ἀγγέλλειν**—Note on *μένειν*, ch. 141.

10. **ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι**—A *varia lectio* was *πειθόμενοι νομίμοις*. This was probably the reading Cicero had before him, when he translated the epitaph thus:—

Dic hospes Spartae nos te hic vidisse jacentes,
dum sanctis patriae legibus obsequimur.

An English translator has succeeded better:—

'Go tell the Spartans, thou that passest by,
That here obedient to their laws we lie'.

15. **οὐκ ἔτλη**—'Did not stoop to', 'had not the heart to', cf. *μὴ τλῇς με προδοῦναι*, Eurip. Alc. 275. Latin *non sustinuit;* cf. Ovid, Met. VI. 605, *Sed non attollere contra Sustinet haec oculos*, 'has not the face to raise'.

18. **Σιμωνίδης**—A lyric poet, born at Ceos, B.C. 556. He is to be distinguished from Simonides of Amorgus, who flourished about B.C. 660, and was an iambic and satiric poet. The Simonides here mentioned had been a favourite at the court of Hipparchus, tyrant of Athens, and was now the poet laureate of the day. He composed triumphal odes in honour of the victories of Salamis and Plataea, fragments of some of which are extant. He afterwards accepted an invitation to the court of Hiero, king of Syracuse, where he must doubtless have met Aeschylus, Pindar, his rival in lyric composition, and other minor celebrities. He died at Syracuse B.C. 467.

19. **κατὰ ξεινίην**—The tie of *ξενία* was constantly formed between individuals of different nations, cf. Thuc. VIII. 6, *Ἀλκιβιάδης* (of Athens) *Ἐνδίῳ ἐφορεύοντι* (of Sparta) *πατρικὸς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ξένος ὤν.* The feeling was so strong as to become a kind of religious freemasonry, and by his epithet of *ξένιος*, Zeus himself was made the special protector of the rights of the stranger. Thus when Themistocles, in his flight from the combined anger of Sparta and Athens, came to the court of Admetus, the king's wife bade him (her husband being absent)

τὸν παῖδα σφῶν λαβὼν καθίζεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἑστίαν. And when Admetus returned he did not dare to betray the suppliant, who had thus put himself under his protection (Thuc. I. 136). Cf. too Herod. VII. 39, where Xerxes, though very angry with Pythius the Lydian for his request (ch. 38), says *σὲ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοὺς τέσσερας τῶν παίδων ῥύεται τὰ ξείνια,* i.e. the presents of hospitality given by host to guest.

BOOK VIII.

4. 1. **τότε**—'At the present time', cf. VII. 223, *τότε δὴ συμμίσγοντες*, 'when they *now* engaged'.

ib. **οὗτοι** — The combined Greek fleet numbered 271 triremes and 9 penteconters. Of these the Athenians contributed 127, and the Corinthians 40, but the whole fleet was under the command of Eurybiades the Spartan, although the Lacedaemonians only furnished 10 ships.

4. **παρὰ δόξαν**—*παρὰ* with the accusative means 'alongside of', and so, from the notion of two things lying side by side, 'compared with', and then 'contrary to', as here. *παρὰ δόξαν ἢ ὡς* is probably what is called a 'mixed construction', namely, a confusion between 'otherwise than (*ἤ*)', and 'contrary to the opinion they held'.

6. **κατεδόκεον**—Simply, 'thought', cf. VIII. 69, *καταδόξας σφέας ἐθελοκακέειν*, 'thinking they played the coward'; see on *καταφρονήσαντες*, ch. 10.

7. **Ἀρτεμισίου**—In the territory called Histaeotis (VII. 175), at the extreme north of Euboea.

10. **ὑπεκθέωνται**—Ionic for *ὑπεκθῶνται*, from *ὑπεκτίθημι*.

12. **τριήκοντα ταλάντοισι**—'Of thirty talents', *ταλάντοισι* in apposition to *μισθῷ*. A talent=about £240 English.

13. **ἐπ' ᾧ τε**—'On condition that'. For the untranslated *τε*, see on *ἐπεί τε*, VII. 43. Other instances of *τε* being kept in relative phrases in Attic are *ἅτε* since, *ὥστε*, *οἷός τε* able, *ἔστε* until (l. 10), *εὖτε* when.

6. 3. **περὶ δείλην πρωΐην**—*δείλη* is said to mean originally 'the hot time', i.e. just after noon, but in later prose it is used

to signify evening as distinguished from night. In its meaning of 'afternoon' it is qualified by πρωΐα (as here) or ὀψία (ch. 9), while δείλη by itself would generally mean 'at evening time'. The root is διϝ to shine, from which we have δῖος heavenly, εὐδία clear sky, δῆλος (=δέελος) clear, Ζεὺς (=Δyεὺς, genit. Διὸς) the god of the clear heaven, Latin *Diovis* or *Jovis*, *deus*, *divus*, *dies*, *interdiu*, *Diana*, feminine of *Dianus* or *Janus*.

7. **εἴ κως**—'In hopes that', lit. 'if by any means'.

10. **φεύγοντας**—'And night should cover their escape'; καταλάβοι, literally 'should overtake', cf. VII. 211, καταλαμβανόμενοι ὑπέστρεφον, 'turned back when overtaken': VII. 38, καταλαμβάνει πάντας στρατεύεσθαι.

ib. **ἔμελλον**—Cf. VII. 23, ἔμελλέ σφι τοιοῦτο ἀποβήσεσθαι, and note there.

11. **δῆθεν**—'Of course': the word is generally used ironically, like δὴ in VII. 211, ὡς δὴ οὗτοί γε εὐπετέως κατεργασόμενοι.

ib. **ἔδει δὲ**—'And they wanted (lit. it was necessary) not even the torch-bearer, as their phrase is, to escape and survive'. In the Spartan army the πυρφόρος carried the sacred fire, taken from the altar of Zeus at Sparta, which was required for the sacrifices on the march. This fire had, like the hearth of Vesta at Rome, to be kept alight at any risk, hence to defend the πυρφόρος came to be used as a proverb, 'to stand out to the last'.

7. 1. **πρὸς ταῦτα**—'In view of these things', 'accordingly'.

2. **ἀποκρίναντες**—'After separating out'. Notice the compounds ἀνακρίνειν to examine, ἀποκρίνεσθαι to answer, διακρίνειν to decide, κατακρίνειν to condemn, παρακρίνεσθαι to be drawn up, προκρίνειν to select, ὑποκρίνεσθαι to answer (Ionic), in Attic, to answer on the stage, to act a part, whence the English 'hypocrite'.

4. **Καφηρέα**—Caphareus and Geraestus were the two promontories at the extreme south of Euboea. The former was the supposed scene of the wreck of the Greek fleet on its return from Troy, misled by the beacon fires lighted by Nauplius who had lost his son Palamedes in the war. Cf. Prop. III. 7. 39, *saxa triumphales fregere Capharea puppes:* Virg. Aen. XI. 260, *Euboicae cautes, ultorque Caphereus.*

5. **Εὔριπον**—The modern Negropont. The ancient name, connected with ῥίπη blast, ῥιπίζειν to fan, refers to the rapidity and strength of its currents.

6. **σφεῖς**—'They', i.e. the main body, left behind in the Pagasaean Gulf.

9. **ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρης**—A genitive of time, cf. χειμῶνος, 'in winter time'. In Greek the ablative had dropped out, and its place was supplied both by the genitive and dative (locative). Thus time *when*, was expressed either by ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας or, more commonly, ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.

10. **σφι ἔμελλε φανήσεσθαι**—'Should be shown them on the part of (παρὰ)', lit. coming from.

11. **ὡς ἡκόντων**—'To say they were come'.

8. 2. **ἦν γὰρ**—The construction is irregular; leave out γὰρ in the translation.

3. **δύτης**—The more usual word is κολυμβητής. Divers carried provisions to the Spartan army when besieged on the island of Sphacteria (Thuc. IV. 26). The Athenians, too, used divers to saw away the piles driven by the Syracusans into their harbour, τούτους (σταυροὺς) κολυμβηταὶ δυόμενοι ἐξέπριον μισθοῦ (Thuc. VII. 25). Diving for the pearl-oyster was carried on, apparently, as early as Homer's time, cf. Il. XVI. 747, ἀνὴρ ὅδε, τήθεα διφῶν, νηὸς ἀποθρώσκων, where τήθεα is generally explained to mean a kind of oyster.

5. **τῶν χρημάτων**—'Of *their* money', note on VII. 1.

7. **εἶχε ἄρα**—'Had, as it seems', cf. VII. 35, σοὶ δὲ κατὰ δίκην ἄρα οὐδεὶς θύει. For ἐν νόῳ εἶχε cf. last ch. οὐκ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες.

8. **οὐ...οἱ πάρεσχε**—'There was not opportunity for him', cf. ch. 75, καὶ νῦν παρέχει κάλλιστον ὑμέας ἔργον ἐξεργάσασθαι, 'now there is a chance for you to do'. ἀλλὰ γὰρ has already been noticed.

9. **τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη**—'After this', cf. Eur. Bacch. 1063, τοὐντεῦθεν ἤδη τοῦ ξένου τι θαῦμ' ὁρῶ. See ch. 98, l. 12, τὸ δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη κατ' ἄλλον διεξέρχεται.

13. **σταδίους μάλιστά κη τούτους**—'Accomplishing about eighty stadia *in this*', lit. 'these 80 stadia'; with the position and meaning of τούτους, cf. Soph. Ajax 114, ἐπειδὴ τέρψις ἥδε σοι τὸ δρᾶν, 'since thus it pleases thee to do', ἥδε agreeing with

τέρψις instead of *τὸ δρᾶν*: Soph. Trach. 483, *ἥμαρτον, εἴ τι τήνδ' ἁμαρτίαν νέμεις*, 'if thou considerest this a sin', *τήνδε* for *τοῦτο*: Aesch. Prom. 754, *θανεῖν· αὕτη γὰρ ἦν ἂν πημάτων ἀπαλλαγή*.

14. **ὀγδώκοντα**—'Although the usual time of remaining under water does not much exceed two minutes, yet there are instances known of divers who could remain four and even five minutes, which was the case with a Caffre boy the last time we visited the fishery. The longest instance ever known was that of a diver who came from Anjanga in 1797, and who absolutely remained under water full six minutes'. Percival's Asiatic Researches, vol. 5, quoted in Rees' Cyclopaedia.

16. **μετεξέτερα**—Rather a favourite word with Herod. cf. VII. 142, *τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἔλεγον μετεξέτεροι*: VIII. 87, *οὐκ ἔχω μετεξετέρους εἰπεῖν*.

17. **ἀποδεδέχθω**—'Let the opinion be declared by me'; note on *ἀποδέξας*, VII. 4.

ib. **πλοίῳ**—Herodotus is certainly right in rejecting the fable of a nine miles dive, but it is strange it should not have occurred to him that Scyllias *swam* the distance.

19. **τὴν ναυηγίην ὡς γένοιτο**—For the construction, see note on *στόλον, ὡς ἔπρηξε*, VII. 18.

9. 1. **λόγον ἐδίδοσαν**—'Took counsel'.

3. **ἐνίκα**—'It prevailed', i.e. 'it was determined', cf. *ἡ νικῶσα γνώμη*, VII. 175.

4. **νύκτα μέσην παρέντας**—'After letting midnight pass': *μέσαι νύκτες* is often used in the same sense, see note on ch. 76.

7. **φυλάξαντες**—'Waiting for', cf. I. 49, *φυλάξας τὴν κυρίην τῶν ἡμερέων*. In Theocritus (Alexandrine poet, flourished B.C. 280,) the word has the peculiar meaning of 'bringing with care', generally of a lover bringing a present, *ἦνθον γὰρ κἠγών,... μάλα μὲν ἐν κόλποισι Διωνύσοιο φυλάσσων*, II. 120: *τὸν στέφανον, τόν τοι ἐγὼν Ἀμαρυλλὶ φίλα κισσοῖο φυλάσσω*, III. 22, 'the garland of ivy which I bring thee'.

8. **ἐπανέπλωον**—'Put out to sea against', i.e. they abandoned their plan of going to meet the squadron that was sailing round Euboea, and resolved to attack the remainder of the Persian fleet that lay off Artemisium.

ib. **ἀπόπειραν**—'Wishing to make trial of them in battle'.

9. **τοῦ διεκπλόου**—The Athenians were especially skilful in this manœuvre. It somewhat resembled Nelson's plan of breaking through the enemy's line. They were thus enabled to charge their opponents' ships with their heavy beaks in broadside or stern, the most vulnerable parts. This required plenty of sea room, and accordingly we find that the Athenians were almost always at a disadvantage, when fighting in a narrow space, such as the harbour of Syracuse, or the entrance of the Corinthian Gulf. See Thuc. VII. 36, 'The Syracusans thought *τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις οὐκ ἔσεσθαι σφῶν ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ οὔτε περίπλουν οὔτε διέκπλουν, ᾧπερ τῆς τέχνης μάλιστα ἐπίστευον.*

10. 2. **πάγχυ...ἐπενείκαντες**—Literally, 'thoroughly imputing madness to them': *πάγχυ* is an Ionic form of *πάνυ*. *ἐπιφέρειν τινί τι* is 'to bring anything *against* anyone', cf. I. 131, *τοῖσι ἀγάλματα ποιεῦσι μωρίην ἐπιφέρουσι*, 'they bring a charge of madness against those who make statues': VI. 112, *μανίην τε τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπέφερον καὶ πάγχυ ὀλεθρίην.*

4. **οἰκότα κάρτα**—'Hoping what was very probable, since they saw...'.

7. **καταφρονήσαντες ταῦτα**—'Thinking this'. *καταφρονεῖν* usually means 'to look *down* upon', 'despise', but Herod., as we have already seen, uses verbs compounded with *κατὰ* to mean little more than the simple verb. Cf. I. 59, *καταφρονήσας τυραννίδα*: I. 66, *καταφρονήσαντες Ἀρκάδων κρείσσονες εἶναι*, 'thinking that they were stronger than the Arcadians': *καταδοκέω* is used in the same way in chs. 4 and 69.

ib. **ἐκυκλοῦντο αὐτοὺς**—'Began to surround them on every side'. The manœuvre by which the Greeks counteracted this is related in the next chapter.

9. **συμφορὴν ἐποιεῦντο**—'Were distressed'. *συμφορὰ* is originally anything that 'befalls', but is generally used of an *unlucky* occurrence. Cf. VII. 141, *συμφορῇ τῇ μεγίστῃ ἐχρέωντο*: ch. 98, *ἔπεμπε ἀγγελέοντα τὴν παρεοῦσάν σφι συμφορήν.*

10. **ἐπιστάμενοι**—Note on VII. 218.

12. **ὅσοισι ἡδομένοισι ἦν**—'They, to whom what was going on (*τὸ γινόμενον*) was pleasant', lit. 'those to whom rejoicing the matter was'. Cf. ch. 14, *ὥς σφι ἀσμένοισι ἡμέρη ἐπέλαμψε*, 'when day dawned upon them, to their delight'.

Thuc. II. 8, τῷ πλήθει οὐ βουλομένῳ ἦν. It is imitated in Latin; Sallust (B.C. 86—34) Jugurtha 84, *quia neque plebi militia volenti putabatur:* Tac. Hist. III. 43, *Maturo ceterisque remanere volentibus fuit.*

15. **λάμψεται**—Ionic for λήψεται, cf. ἀπολαμφθέντες, ch. VIII. 70.

ib. **Ἀθηναίων**—'For the reputation of the Athenians stood highest with them': αὐτοῖσι, i.e. with the Ionians.

11. 1. **ἐσήμηνε**—Sc. ὁ κελευστής or ὁ σαλπιγκτής; cf. σημήναντος, l. 4.

3. **συνήγαγον**—So as not to present the broadside, their vulnerable point, to the enemy.

4. **ἔργου εἴχοντο**—'Began to apply themselves to the work'.

ib. **ἐν ὀλίγῳ περ**—'Although surrounded in a narrow space'.

5. **κατὰ στόμα**—This answers to ἀντίπρωροι in l. 1.

11. **ἑτεραλκέως**—"With doubtful issue'; the adjective ἑτεραλκής is used by Herod. in the same sense, cf. IX. 103, ὡς εἶδον γιγνομένην ἑτεραλκέα τὴν μάχην. In Homer the word is used of victory inclining to one side *more* than to the other; Il. XVII. 627, Τρώεσσι δίδου ἑτεραλκέα νίκην: XVI. 363, γίγνωσκε μάχης ἑτεραλκέα νίκην, always of the victory *changing* sides.

12. **διέλυσε**—'Separated'. Notice the compounds ἀναλύειν to untie, ἀπολύεσθαι to ransom, καταλύειν to break down, lodge, παραλύεσθαι to be enfeebled (paralytic), ὑπολύειν to take off shoes.

14. **παρὰ δόξαν**—Note on ch. 4.

17. **ἔργον**—In a good sense, 'exploit', 'achievement'; cf. ch. 88, ἐπείρεσθαι, εἰ ἀληθέως ἐστὶ Ἀρτεμισίης τὸ ἔργον: ch. 89, ὡς ἀποδεξόμενοί τι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔργον βασιλέϊ.

12. 1. **τῆς ὥρης**—'In season'; the genitive of time, see note on ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρης, ch. 7, and cf. ch. 71, οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔτ' ἡμέρης. ὥρα, in classical Greek, never corresponds to the English 'hour', but means simply a 'season', (1) of the year (χείματος ὥρῃ, Hesiod), (2) of the day (νυκτὸς ἐν ὥρῃ, Hom.). The first attempt at marking out the day into anything like our 'hours', had been brought to Greece from Chaldaea (Herod. II. 109), and was effected by means of a sundial, but it does not seem to have come into general use till much later.

5. **ἐξεφορέοντο**—Cf. VII. 188, *τὰς μὲν ἐξέφερε πρὸς Ἰπνούς*: VIII. 76, *ἐνθαῦτα μάλιστα ἐξοισομένων τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυηγίων*.

6. **ταρσοὺς**—*ταρσὸς*, conn. with *τέρσομαι*, I am dry, meant a stand for drying things, and then any flat open surface, such as the *sole* of a foot, the *blade* of an oar, the *pinion* of a wing, &c. It is from this last meaning that Tarsus in Cilicia got its name, being the fabled scene of the fall of a wing from the horse Pegasus. Kindred words are *torreo*, *torris* a torch of *dry* wood, *torrens* a torrent (the ideas of the rushing of a torrent and quivering of heat being similar), perhaps *terra*, the *dry* land as distinguished from the sea, and *testa* a jar of baked clay. *ταράσσω* in the same line is from a different root.

8. **κατιστέατο**—For *καθιστάναι ἐς*, see note on VII. 138.

ib. **ἐλπίζοντες**—'Expecting'.

ib. **ἐς οἷα**—This is given in the words of the frightened soldiers, they *said ἐς οἷα κακὰ ἥκομεν*.

9. **καὶ**—For the emphatic *καί*, see on VII. 55.

11. **ὑπέλαβε**—'Came upon them': the *ὑπὸ* conveys the idea of its being unexpected or sudden.

12. **ῥεύματα ἰσχυρὰ**—'Swollen streams'.

13. 2. **πολλὸν**—For *πολύ*: cf. *πολλὸν παρὰ δόξαν*, ch. 11.

ib. **τοσούτῳ ὅσῳ**—'So much the more so, as'.

4. **ἄχαρι**—i.e. 'disastrous'; cf. *ἄχαρις συμφορὴ παιδοφόνος*, VII. 190: so *ἀνεθέλητον* is used in VII. 133 in the sense of *δεινόν*. The figure is called meiosis (a lessening, from *μείων* less), i.e. a softening down; cf. Virg. Georg. III. 5, '*quis illaudati nescit Busiridis aras*', where *illaudati* means 'detested'.

5. **τὰ Κοῖλα**—'The Hollows'. It is a question whether these lay between Caphareus and Geraestus, or inside Euboea, between Geraestus and the Euripus. They were probably a range of overhanging cliffs, hollowed out by the continuous action of the currents. See Livy XXXIX. 47, *est sinus Euboicus quem Coela vocant, suspectus nautis*; Eur. Troad. 84, *πλῆσον δὲ νεκρῶν κοῖλον Εὐβοίας μυχόν*.

7. **ἐξέπιπτον**—Cf. VII. 188, *αἱ δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Σηπιάδα περιέπιπτον*.

40. 2. **δεηθέντων**—The forcing of Thermopylae by the Persians was unexpected by the majority of the Greeks, and

took them totally by surprise. Attica was completely open to the invader, and the prospect of defending it by occupying the range of Cithaeron does not seem to have been entertained. The Peloponnesians indeed, now thoroughly awake to their danger, were solely intent on defending themselves, and left Athens to her fate without a single regret.

3. **κατίσχει τὰς νῆας**—So *κατέσχον ἐς* in the next chapter, with a similar meaning.

6. **Ἀττικῆς**—The desertion was not of Athens alone, but of the whole of Attica, and was so complete that when Xerxes arrived he could not capture more than 500 prisoners.

ib. **βουλεύσωνται**—'And might take counsel besides (*πρὸς*) what they ought to do'. For *ἔσται* see on *παύσει*, VII. 54. The Athenians *said βουλευσώμεθα τὸ ποιητέον ἔσται.*

7. **ἐπὶ πρήγμασι**—See on VII. 132.

8. **δοκέοντες εὑρήσειν**—'Thinking that they would find'. It was the occurrence of the Carneia and the Olympian games (VII. 206) that prevented the Peloponnesians assembling at Thermopylae in the first instance.

10. **τῶν μὲν**—'Of these things they found that none was a fact (*οὐδὲν ἐὸν*)'. For the emphatic *ἐὸν*, see on *συμβαλέσθαι τὸ ἐὸν*, VII. 209.

12. **περιεῖναι**—'Were holding it of the highest importance that the Peloponnesus should be saved'. For *περιεῖναι*, 'to survive', lit. to be over and above, cf. VII. 188, *αὐτοί τε περιῆσαν καὶ αἱ νέες αὐτῶν*: VIII. 6, *ἔδει μηδὲ πυρφόρον περιγενέσθαι.*

13. **ἀπιέναι**—'And were neglecting (*ἀφίημι*) everything else'.

14. **οὕτω δὴ**—'Accordingly': the phrase often expresses the *result* of a number of reasons, cf. ch. 84, *οὕτω δὴ οἱ ἄλλοι συνέμισγον*: ch. 6, *οὕτω δὴ κατέμειναν ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίῃ.*

41. 3. **Ἀθηναίων**—An Athenian who left his country without leave, in time of war, was liable to the punishment of death.

4. **τῇ...σώζειν**—'That, wherever an Athenian could, there he should place for safety...'. *σώζειν* combines the meanings 'to *take to* a place of safety', and '*to keep in* a place of safety'. *δύναται* and *σώζειν* are in the present tense, as giving the exact words of the proclamation. Amongst those thus carried off to Salamis was the poet Sophocles, now a boy.

5. **οἰκέτας**—The average price of a slave seems to have been three minae (about £12), but a knowledge of any trade or art added greatly to their value. The poorest citizen at Athens possessed at least one slave; the father of Demosthenes had 50, and Nicias kept more than 1000 in his mines. These slaves were not of pure Hellenic blood, but were brought from Thrace and the interior of Asia Minor.

6. **Τροιζῆνα**—Troezen was, like Phlius, a semi-independent town of Argolis: 'having ancient relations of religion as well as of traffic with Athens'. Grote.

7. **ὑπεκθέσθαι**—Herodotus seems fond of these compounds with *ὑπεκ-*, we have below *ὑπεξέκειτο* (l. 17), *ὑπεκθέωνται*, ch. 4, *ὑπεξιόντες*, VII. 223, *ὑπεξείρυσαν*, VII. 225. The meaning is 'to 'put away from out of the reach of', to 'draw out from under'; for another use of *ὑπὸ* in compounds, cf. *ὑποκαθημένους* ch. 40, 'lying in wait for'.

ib. **χρηστηρίῳ**—Above, VII. 140, 141.

9. **ὄφιν**—The serpent was sacred to Athena, and is found with the goddess on ancient tiles and vases. It denoted the unceasing vitality of nature. Cf. the story of the '*gemini dracones*' in the Aeneid, who after destroying Laocoon, *Effugiunt sacraeque petunt Tritonidis arcem, Sub pedibusque deae clipeique sub orbe teguntur*, Virg. Aen. II. 225—7. Aristophanes (Lysist. 709) refers to this 'guardian snake'; *ἐξ οὗ τὸν ὄφιν εἶδον τὸν οἰκουρόν ποτε.*

11. **ὡς ἐόντι**—Note on *τὸ ἐὸν*, VII. 209.

ib. **προτιθέντες**—Compare the *ἄρτοι τῆς προθέσεως*, or shewbread.

13. **ἀναισιμουμένη**—'Consumed': a favourite word with Herod., used also of spending *time*, *ἡμέραι ἀναισιμοῦνται τεσσεράκοντα*, II. 11, spending *money*, *ἐς τὴν ἵππον ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἀναισιμοῦνται*, III. 90, also simply 'to *use*', *τὸν χοῦν ἐκ τοῦ ὀρύγματος ἀναισίμου*, I. 185.

14. **μᾶλλον...προθυμότερον**—'With somewhat (*τι*) more eagerness than before'. For *μᾶλλον* with the comparative, cf. *ἔγνωσαν αἱρετώτερα εἶναι μᾶλλον*, VII. 143.

16. **ἀπολελοιπυίης**—The goddess of the citadel was known by the special title of Athena Polias. When a city was doomed to destruction, its protecting gods were supposed to take their flight, e.g. from Troy, Virg. Aen. II. 351, *Excessere*

8—2

omnes aris adytisque relictis Di: from Veii, Livy v. 21, *deos votis ex urbe sua evocatos...novas sedes spectare:* from Jerusalem at its destruction by Titus, A.D. 70, Tacitus, Hist. v. 13, *audita major humana vox, excedere deos.* Josephus (A.D. 37—100) gives the very words, *μεταβαίνωμεν ἐντεῦθεν.* Cf. Milton, 'Apollo from his shrine can no more divine, With hollow shriek the steep of Delphos leaving', Ode on the Nativity.

17. **ὑπεξέκειτο**—The passive of *ὑπεκθέσθαι* above. 'In the years 1821 and 1822, during the struggle which preceded the liberation of Greece [from the Turks] the Athenians were forced to leave their country and seek refuge in Salamis three several times. A century and a half ago, also, in the war between the Turks and Venetians, the population of Attica was forced to emigrate to Salamis, Aegina and Corinth'. Grote.

56. 1. **ὡς ἔσχε**—'In what condition were', note on *ἔχω* (1), VII. 60.

4. **κυρωθῆναι**—'To be settled': *οὐδὲ* (Lat. *ne...quidem*) goes with *ἔμενον.*

5. **ἐσέπιπτον**—Notice the succession of imperfects, '*began* to hurry on board'.

8. **νύξ τε...καὶ οἱ**—For other instances of the idiom, see on VIII. 64.

ib. **διαλυθέντες**—The active *διέλυσε* occurred in ch. 11.

9. **ἐσέβαινον**—'Now was felt the want of a position like that of Thermopylae, which had served as a protection to all the Greeks at once, so as to check the growth of separate fears and interests. We can hardly wonder that the Peloponnesian chiefs should manifest such an obstinate reluctance to fight at Salamis. On the other hand, Salamis...could not be abandoned without breaking up the unity of the allied fleet; since Megara and Aegina would thus be left uncovered, and the contingents of each would immediately retire for the defence of their own homes,—while the Athenians also...would be in like manner distracted from combined maritime efforts at the Isthmus'. Grote, Hist. Greece, Part II. Ch. 41.

57. 4. **δεδογμένον**—Cf. VII. 12, *δεδογμένων οἱ αὖτις τούτων.* ch. 13, *ὡς ὧν μεταδεδογμένον μοι.*

8. **τρέψονται**—Cf. VII. 219, *διασκεδασθέντες κατὰ πόλις ἕκαστοι ἐτράποντο,* of the Greeks whom Leonidas sent away from Thermopylae.

10. **οὐ μή**—See on *μὴ οὐ*, VII. 5.

11. **ἀβουλίῃσι**—Cf. VII. 210, *ἀναιδείῃ τε καὶ ἀβουλίῃ διαχρεώμενοι.*

12. **ἤν κως**—Cf. *εἴ κως ἕλοιεν αὐτάς*, ch. 6.

13. **ἀναγνῶσαι**—'To persuade', used in this meaning only in Herod. and other Ionic writers. The verb is generally used with reference to writing, to 'know it again', i.e. to '*read*'. Notice the compounds *ἀπογιγνώσκειν* to despair of, acquit, *ἐπιγιγνώσκειν* to recognise, *διαγιγνώσκειν* to distinguish, *καταγιγνώσκειν* to condemn, *μεταγιγνώσκειν* to change one's mind, *συγγιγνώσκειν* to acknowledge, pardon.

ib. **μεταβουλεύσασθαι**—Cf. VII. 12, *μετὰ δὴ βουλεύεαι, ὦ Πέρσα.*

58. 2. **ἀμειψάμενος**—The word means to 'change', and so, as here, to interchange question and answer, to 'reply': in VII. 228 it is used of place, to change one's position, i.e. to 'pass by'; cf. the use of *ἀπαλλάττεσθαι* in VII. 142 and elsewhere meaning to 'depart'.

4. **σύμμιξαι**—See note on VII. 203.

7. **παριζόμενος**—A minute description like this would seem to indicate that possibly Herodotus was indebted for his account of this interview to none other than Themistocles himself. The whole story of the battle of Salamis and of the intrigues that preceded it, is given with such circumstantial clearness as to make it sure that Herodotus had for his informant some one who was closely concerned with them.

8. **ἑωυτοῦ ποιεύμενος**—'Making them his own', pretending that he himself originated the idea.

9. **χρηΐζων**—'By his importunity', lit. 'wishing'.

59. 2. **τὸν λόγον τῶν εἵνεκα**—'The story of the reasons', lit. 'the story of the things on account of which'.

3. **πολλὸς ἦν**—As we say, 'was full of words': cf. VII. 158, *Γέλων πολλὸς ἐνέκειτο*: IX. 91, *πολλὸς ἦν λισσόμενος ὁ ξεῖνος*: Demosth. (B.C. 385—322) 272, *ἄνεμος πολὺς ἔπνει καὶ λαμπρός.*

ib. **οἷα**—Cf. VII. 141, *ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ὁμοῖα τῷ μάλιστα.*

6. **ἀγῶσι**—The Greeks had four great celebrations of national games, (1) the Olympian, held every four years at Olympia in Elis, in honour of Zeus, (2) the Pythian, held ever-

four years at Delphi in honour of Apollo, (3) the Nemean, held at Nemea (between Corinth and Argos) in honour of Heracles, (4) the Isthmian, celebrated on the Isthmus of Corinth in honour of Poseidon.

6. **προεξανιστάμενοι**—Notice the force of the *three* prepositions.

7. **ἀπολυόμενος**—'*Trying* to excuse himself'.

8. **στεφανεῦνται**—At the Olympian games, the garland was made of wild olive (*κότινος*) cut from a sacred tree that grew in the Altis or sacred grove at Olympia.

64. 1. **ἀκροβολισάμενοι**—For the metaphor which expresses this 'wordy war' cf. VIII. 78, *ὠθισμὸς λόγων πολλός*: Aesch. *Supp.* 446, *γλῶσσα τοξεύσασα μὴ τὰ καίρια*: cf. *nescio quod vos velitati estis inter vos* (Plautus).

3. **ἡμέρη τε...καὶ**—For the idiom, and its explanation, see note on VII. 23. Other instances are found in VII. 12, *νύξ τε ἐγίνετο καὶ Ξέρξεα ἔκνιζε ἡ γνώμη*: VII. 217, *ἠώς τε δὴ διέφαινε, καὶ ἐγένοντο*: VIII. 56, *νύξ τε ἐγίνετο καὶ ἐσέβαινον*: particularly IV. 181, *παρέρχονταί τε μέσαι νύκτες καὶ ψύχεται*, 'as soon as midnight is past, it grows cold', of a variable spring of water in Africa.

4. **ἐγίνετο...ἐγένετο**—Notice again the different meaning of the imperfect and aorist, 'day was dawning' (continuous act), 'an earthquake happened' (momentary act). So in l. 2, *ἐπεὶ ἔδοξε παρεσκευάζοντο*: l. 7, *ὡς ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίευν*.

5. **καὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ**—'We saw a white line of foam coming on which rapidly passed us without doing any harm, as our boat rose easily over the wave. At short intervals ten or a dozen others overtook us with great rapidity, and then the sea became perfectly smooth as it was before. I concluded at once that these must be earthquake waves...some time afterwards I learnt that an earthquake had been felt on the coast of Gilolo the very day we had encountered these curious waves'. Wallace, Malay Archipelago, p. 539.

6. **τοὺς Αἰακίδας**—Telamon and Ajax, the tutelary heroes of Salamis, were supposed to be son and grandson of Aeacus.

7. **ὡς...καὶ**—This may be either a shortened form of *ὡς ἔδοξε, οὕτω καὶ...*, 'as it seemed good, so also...', or *ὡς* may be used in the temporal sense, 'when', and *καὶ* may be emphatic, strengthening *ἐποίευν*.

9. ἐπὶ Αἰακὸν—'To fetch Aeacus', i.e. his image, believing that the hero himself would thus help them in the fight. On a former occasion when the Thebans were at war with the Athenians, the former had borrowed these images of the Aeacidae from the Aeginetans to help them, but they found them no use, and returned the images with a request that the Aeginetans would send them men instead (Herod. v. 80, 81). The Spartans had two similar images of the Tyndaridae, Castor and Pollux, one of which, in time of war, accompanied the one king to the field, while the other stayed at home with the second king. A singular parallel to this supposed power of help on the part of these Aeacidae, is the effect produced on the armies of the Israelites by the presence of the ark of the covenant: cf. 1 Sam. iv. 3, 'Let us fetch the ark of the covenant of the Lord out of Shiloh unto us, that, when it cometh among us, it may save us out of the hand of our enemies'. Something, perhaps, of the same idea is seen in the custom for armies on the march to take with them sacred fire, taken from the altar of some God, see note on *πυρφόρος*, ch. 6.

71. 5. ὡς τάχιστα—Lat. *cum primum*, 'as soon as'.

10. τὴν Σκιρωνίδα ὁδὸν—The isthmus is about four miles wide at its narrowest point. This road led from Megara to Corinth, along its eastern side; it is now called Kaki Scali, i.e. *Via mala*. Its ancient name was derived from a robber who was said to infest it, and who killed travellers by pushing them off the rocks into the sea, until he was slain by Theseus. There is another route across the Isthmus, but the Greeks would naturally break up this (the easternmost) first, to prevent the Persian land army from co-operating with the fleet.

11. οἰκοδόμεον τεῖχος—*οἰκοδομέω*, 'I build a house', has become generalized into the meaning 'I build'; cf. *οἰόφρων πέτρα*, a lonely (-minded) rock, *ἱπποκόμος καμήλων*, *νέκταρ ἐῳνοχόει*[1].

14. πλίνθοι—The word is the same as the English *flint*, and perhaps *λίθος* and the Latin *later* are connected. There are the proverbs *πλίνθον πλύνειν* and *laterem lavare*, of a hopeless task.

ib. φορμοὶ—'Rush-baskets', lit. 'carriers', from *φέρω*.

15. ἐλίνυον—See on vii. 56, *ἐλινύσας οὐδένα χρόνον*: cf.

[1] Farrar, Gk. Syntax, § 5.

Theocr. x. 51, ἑλινῦσαι δὲ τὸ καῦμα, 'to take a siesta in the heat of the day'.

74. 1. **συνέστασαν**—'Were engaged in'. We have already had several peculiar uses of συνίστημι, cf. VII. 142, γνῶμαι συνεστηκυῖαι μάλιστα: VII. 225, τοῦτο συνεστήκεε μέχρι οὗ: add the following, VII. 170, λίμῳ συνεστεῶτες, 'entangled with, overcome by famine', Lat. *fame confecti:* IX. 89, λίμῳ συστάντες καὶ καμάτῳ.

2. **δρόμον θέοντες**—The metaphor comes naturally from a Greek who so constantly saw the races in the stadium: cf. such phrases as κάμπτειν διαύλου θάτερον κῶλον, Aesch. Ag. 344, 'to retrace one's steps': βίου βαλβῖδες (Eurip.), 'the end (lit. *goal*) of life': ἀγῶνας δραμέονται περὶ σφέων αὐτῶν οἱ Ἕλληνες, Herod. VIII. 102.

3. **ἐλλάμψεσθαι**—Lit. 'to be shone upon', i.e. would win themselves honour; cf. τῷ ἱππικῷ ἐλλάμπεσθαι, I. 80.

4. **ὁμῶς**—With ἀρρώδεον: notice the difference of accent between ὁμῶς equally, and ὅμως nevertheless.

7. **ἕως μὲν δὴ**—'For some time indeed', answered by τέλος δὲ, 'but at last'.

8. **ἀβουλίην**—Governed by θῶμα ποιεύμενοι which equals θαυμαζόμενοι.

9. **σύλλογος**—The word always means a special, extraordinary meeting.

10. **οἱ μὲν**—A nominative absolute, cf. Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ Αἰγινῆται, below, and a very marked instance in ch. 98, ἵππος τε καὶ ἀνὴρ τεταγμένος.

75. 3. **πέμπει**—Aeschylus in his tragedy *The Persians*, which tells of the defeat of Xerxes at Salamis, refers to this, but says the messenger was a Greek: ἀνὴρ γὰρ Ἕλλην ἐξ Ἀθηναίων στρατοῦ ἐλθὼν ἔλεξε παιδὶ σῷ Ξέρξῃ τάδε, ὡς...Ἕλληνες οὐ μένοιεν (Pers. 361—4).

5. **τὰ χρεὸν λέγειν**—i.e. ἃ χρεὸν ἦν λέγειν, cf. VII. 17, ἀποτρέπων τὸ χρεὸν γενέσθαι.

6. **παιδαγωγὸς**—The slave who held this office in the household of all wealthy Greeks was not a teacher, and so did not in the least correspond to the modern 'pedagogue', but was a kind of personal attendant, or head steward. It was his business to accompany the boys to the gymnasium, or to the

school of the διδάσκαλος, and to see that they kept out of mischief on the way. The word 'page' is said to be a corruption of παιδαγωγός.

8. **ἐπεδέκοντο**—This was after the war was over, when the Thespians had lost so many of their citizens that they were forced to enrol fresh inhabitants from elsewhere.

10. **πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς**—Aeschylus, with a poet's love of effect, makes Sicinnus deliver his message to Xerxes himself.

12. **φρονέων τὰ βασιλέος**—'To favour the Great King's side', cf. *τοὺς τὰ ὑμέτερα φρονέοντας*, 'those who favour your side', l. 19.

15. **παρέχει**—See on *οὔ οἱ παρέσχε*, ch. 8.

17. **περιίδητε**—*περιορᾶν* means 'to look all round a thing', 'to look everywhere but in the right place', and so 'to neglect', 'disregard'. With *διαδράντας* cf. VII. 210, *ἐλπίζων αἰεί σφεας ἀποδρήσεσθαι*.

19. **τοὺς τὰ ὑμέτερα φρονέοντας**—It is hardly possible, as some have thought, that Themistocles, at this early period of his career, saw the chance of a double meaning being attached to this secret message, and of afterwards being able to found on it a claim upon the Persians, as though it had been sent to them in perfect good faith. However that may have been, he certainly gained credit from both sides, from the Greeks, who at the close of the war gave him the *ἀριστεῖα*, and from the Persians, with whom he took refuge when compelled to live in exile (B.C. 466); cf. Thuc. I. 137, *γράψας* (to Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes) *τὴν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος προάγγελσιν τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως*.

76. 3. **τοῦτο μὲν**—'First of all', answered by *τοῦτο δὲ*, 'next', in l. 6; cf. ch. 88, beginning.

ib. **Ψυττάλειαν**—The present Lipsokutáli, about a mile long, and 200 or 300 yards wide. Aeschylus' description of it is, *νῆσός τις ἔστι πρόσθε Σαλαμῖνος τόπων, βαιά, δύσορμος ναυσί*, Persae, 447, 8.

6. **μέσαι νύκτες**—Herodotus generally uses the plural meaning simply 'mid night', cf. IV. 181, *παρέρχονταί τε μέσαι νύκτες*: the singular does occur, cf. ch. 9, *νύκτα μέσην παρέντας*. The Greeks divided the night into three *νύκτες* or night-watches, the second of which was called *μέσαι*.

ib. **ἀνῆγον...κυκλούμενοι**—'Put to sea the westernmost wing, shutting them (the Greeks) in'; *κέρας* accusative after *ἀνῆγον*. Or *κέρας* being a 'noun of multitude' may be nominative to *ἀνῆγον, κυκλούμενοι* agreeing with the verb rather than with the noun. The position of the two fleets, both before and after this movement, must be carefully studied on a map.

8. **Κέον...Κυνόσουραν**—Probably places on the island of Salamis. Cynosura seems to be the extreme eastern promontory.

9. **Μουνυχίης**—Opposite Cynosura, on the mainland of Attica.

12. **δοῖεν τίσιν**—Like the Latin *dare poenas*, 'to suffer punishment', lit. to give, afford, satisfaction.

14. **τῶν Περσέων**—'Some of the Persians', a partitive genitive, cf. Hom. Od. IX. 224, *ἕταροι λίσσοντ' ἐπέεσσιν τυρῶν αἰνυμένους ἰέναι*, 'my comrades besought me that they might take of the cheeses and go'.

15. **ἐξοισομένων**—Cf. *ἐξεφορέοντο*, ch. 12, note.

16. **ἐν δὴ πόρῳ**—'Exactly in the path'. For the force of see note on VII. 12.

18. **περιποιῶσι**—'Might save their own men (*τοὺς μὲν*)': cf. VII. 52, *ἐπὶ τούτοις* (for this purpose) *ἡ στρατιὰ ἐγένετο, διαφθεῖραι καὶ περιποιῆσαι*. So Aeschylus (Pers. 452), *ὅπως κτείνοιεν εὐχείρωτον Ἑλλήνων στρατὸν, φίλους δ' ὑπεκσώζοιεν ἐναλίων πόρων*.

84. 2. **ἐπὶ πρύμνην ἀνεκρούοντο**—'Began to back water', lit. 'were pushing themselves back towards the stern', cf. Thuc. VII. 38, *προσπλέοντες καὶ ἀνακρουόμενοι*, where the verb alone has the same meaning. The *ἀνάκρουσις*, or steady retreat with prow still pointed to the enemy, is to be distinguished from the *ἀναστροφὴ* or flight.

3. **Ἀμεινίης**—He is said to have been a brother of Aeschylus: Pallene was a deme of Attica.

4. **ἐξαναχθεὶς**—i.e., 'sailing out in front of the line'.

6. **οὕτω δὴ**—Note on ch. 40.

9. **ἀποδημήσασαν**—The verb means 'to be away from home', then 'to leave one's proper place', here simply, 'which had been away'. For *κατὰ τοὺς Αἰακίδας*, see note on *κατὰ*, VII. 23.

10. **τὴν ἄρξασαν**—Aeschylus, who ought to know the truth, if Ameinias was really his brother, says simply *ἦρξε δ' ἐμβολῆς Ἑλληνικὴ ναῦς*.

11. **φανεῖσαν**—A 'construction according to the sense', like *κέρας...κυκλούμενοι* in ch. 76. The *φάσμα* would probably be considered the goddess Athena.

13. **ὦ δαιμόνιοι**—So too we have *ὦ μακάριε, ὦ θαυμάσιε, ὦ λῷστε* &c., in Plato. The meaning in each case seems to depend on the tone of voice with which the words are spoken; here there is a touch of indignation and reproof, while in Herod. IV. 126, *δαιμόνιε ἀνδρῶν* is 'wretched man!' (impatiently), and in VII. 48 the same words betoken surprise.

ib. **ἔτι**—A better reading is *ἐπὶ*, so that the phrase corresponds to *ἐπὶ πρύμνην ἀνεκρούοντο* above.

86. 2. **ἐκεραΐζετο**—Probably not derived from *κέρας* a horn or beak of a ship, but connected with *κείρω* I cut, see note on *ἔκειρε*, VII. 131.

4. **Αἰγινητέων**—Ever since about 508 B.C., Athens and Aegina had been in constant warfare, which had been carried on so indecisively that no regular peace had ever been concluded. In the Persian invasion, ten years before that here related, Aegina had openly *medized*, but after the battle of Marathon and retreat of the Persians, the Athenians invaded Aegina. Still their success was not complete, and it was probably the close proximity of so powerful a neighbour that had made Athens so well furnished both with land and sea forces.

6. **ἔμελλε**—'Was sure', cf. VII. 23, *ἔμελλέ σφι τοιοῦτο ἀποβήσεσθαι*.

8. [**καὶ ἐγένοντο**]—The words in brackets are probably spurious.

ib. **ἀμείνονες αὐτοὶ ἑωυτῶν**—'Better than their wont', or, as we say, 'surpassed themselves'. This insertion of parts of *ἑωυτοῦ* is found (1) after superlatives, II. 8, *τῇ αὐτὸ ἑωυτοῦ ἐστὶ μακρότατον (τὸ ὄρος)*: (2) more rarely, after comparatives, II. 25, *ὁ πόταμος ῥέει αὐτὸς ἑωυτοῦ ὑποδεέστερος*, 'below its usual level'.

10. **δειμαίνων**—Their terror was not misplaced, for Xerxes after the battle had several Phoenician captains executed on the spot, for supposed neglect of duty.

87. 1. **μετεξετέρους**—For other instances of the use of this word, see on ch. 4.

4. **Ἀρτεμισίην**—She was queen of Halicarnassus, Herodotus' native city, which perhaps accounts for his circumstantial account of her adventure.

ib. **μᾶλλον ἔτι**—She had gained the esteem of Xerxes by the advice she gave at a council held before the battle, which advice, unfortunately for himself, the king did not follow.

7. **καὶ ἥ**—See on *καὶ ὅς*, VII. 18. Another instance of the nominative absolute.

9. **πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων**—'Lying near the enemy', lit. '*from* the enemy', the Greek idea being, when a thing at a distance is spoken of, to regard ideas about it as coming *from* that distance, e.g. 'foreign affairs' is *τὰ ἔξωθεν*, i.e. 'things from outside'; 'the men in the city' is *οἱ ἔσωθεν τῆς πόλεως*: so in ch. 88, l. 12, *τῶν ἐκ τῆς νηὸς* = 'those *in* the ship'; ch. 114, *οἱ ἀπὸ Σπάρτης* = 'those *in* Sparta': cf. *τὸ ἀπ' ἑσπέρης κέρας*, ch. 76, 'the westernmost wing', lit. 'the wing *counting from* the west'.

10. **συνήνεικε**—*συμφέρει* generally means simply 'it turns out', whether well or ill, cf. ch. 88, *τοιοῦτο αὐτῇ συνήνεικε γενέσθαι*: ch. 86, *ἔμελλε τοιοῦτό σφι συνοίσεσθαι*; but it is often used in the sense of 'something turning out well', as here, and in IX. 37, *οὔ οἱ συνήνεικε τὸ ἔχθος*.

11. **φέρουσα**—*φερομένη* would be more usual, as in VII. 210, *ἐπέπεσον φερόμενοι οἱ Μῆδοι*.

13. **Καλυνδέων**—Calynda was in Caria, Herod. VII. 98.

14. **ἔτι...ἐόντων**—'When they still were'.

16. **συνεκύρησε**—Grote remarks that the sinking of the Calyndian ship was not likely to have been an accident, as its destruction was so complete.

18. **εὐτυχίῃ χρησαμένη**—See on *ἐχρέωντο*, VII. 141.

20. **ἐμβάλλουσαν**—The old Athenian plan of 'ramming' the enemy's ship seems likely to be revived in the ironclads of the present day.

88. 1. **διαφυγέειν**—'To get *clear* off', like *διαδρᾶναι*, ch. 75, 'to *escape* by running'; *διαγορεύειν*, VII. 38, 'to tell out', 'tell the whole story', *διακινδυνεύειν*, VII. 220, 'to risk to the end'; *διαπειλεῖν*, VII. 15, 'to threaten soundly'.

3. ἐργασαμένην—For the emphatic aorist, see on πρήξας, VII. 38.

5. θηεύμενον—Xerxes viewed the battle from a throne set up on Mt. Aegaleos, on the mainland of Attica, exactly opposite Salamis.

9. φάναι ἐπισταμένους—'Declared that they knew'.

ib. τὸ ἐπίσημον—It seems probable that this means Artemisia's flag or ensign, decorated with her crest, that flew at the mast-head, and is to be distinguished from the παράσημον or figure-head of the ship. A ship took its name from the παράσημον it carried, which often represented a tutelary god; thus the παράσημον of St Paul's ship, which carried him from Melite to Puteoli, was the Διόσκουροι (E. V. 'Castor and Pollux'), the special protectors of sailors (*quorum simul alba nautis stella refulsit*, Hor.). Ovid sailed to Pontus in a ship dedicated to Minerva, but called after her helmet: *est mihi flavae tutela Minervae navis, et a picta casside nomen habet*, Trist. I. 10. 1—2. Some of the Samian ships were decorated with the figure of a boar's head, cf. Herod. III. 59, τῶν νεῶν καπρίους ἐχουσέων τὰς πρώρας ἠκρωτηρίασαν (sawed off). When the ships were captured in battle, their figure-heads were hung up in the temple of some god; thus the Aeginetans, who defeated the Samian ships just mentioned, ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐν Αἰγίνῃ. The *rostra* at Rome took its name from the beaks of the captured vessels with which it was hung.

11. τά τε ἄλλα...καὶ—'Amongst other things...also', see on VII. 142.

12. καὶ τὸ...γενέσθαι—'The fact that no one was saved and became her accuser'.

15. γεγόνασι γυναῖκες—One is reminded of Remulus' indignant insult, *O vere Phrygiae, neque enim Phryges*, Virg. Aen. IX. 617, itself a copy of Homer's ὦ πέπονες, κάκ' ἐλέγχε', Ἀχαιΐδες, οὐκέτ' Ἀχαιοί (Il. II. 235).

89. 1. πόνῳ—See on VII. 190.

ib. ἀπὸ μὲν ἔθανε—By tmesis for ἀπέθανε μὲν: with ἀπὸ δὲ following, supply ἔθανον.

4. τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων—Not 'of the other allies', for the Persians and Medes counted as a single nation, but 'of the allies besides', cf. Ἀθῆναι καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι νῆσοι, 'Athens and the islands besides': οὐκ ἦν χόρτος οὐδὲ ἄλλο δένδρον, Xen. Anab. I.

5, 'no grass or tree at all': *ἄμα τῇγε* (the princess Nausicaa) *καὶ ἀμφίπολοι κίον ἄλλαι*, Hom. Od. VI. 84.

7. **μὴ**—We should certainly expect *οὐ*, in such a direct statement of fact, since *μὴ* generally expresses a *supposed*, *οὐ* an *actual* negative. See next ch., l. 7.

ib. **ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ**—A poetical expression, lit. 'in the law of hands', i.e. 'in the conflict of battle': cf. IX. 48, *ἐς χειρῶν νόμον ἀπικέσθαι*, and the Latin *conserere manus*.

9. **διεφθάρησαν**—Cf. VII. 223, *ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ διεφθείροντο.*

12. **ἔργον**—For the special sense of this word, see on ch. 11.

13. **περιέπιπτον**—Cf. VII. 188, *περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Σηπιάδα περιέπιπτον.* Aeschylus describes this fatal entanglement of the Persian ships one with another; *αὐτοὶ δ' ὑφ' αὐτῶν ἐμβόλοις χαλκοστόμοις παίοντ' ἔθραυον πάντα κωπήρη στόλον, Ἑλληνικαί δὲ νῆες οὐκ ἀφρασμόνως κύκλῳ πέριξ ἔθεινον*, Persae 415—8.

97. 2. **ὑποθῆται**—'Should suggest', cf. ch. 58, *κάρτα δὴ ἤρεσε ἡ ὑποθήκη.*

5. **κινδυνεύσει**—The verb means (1) to run a risk, (2) to incur the chance of, as here, 'fearing that he would probably be slain'; cf. IV. 105, *κινδυνεύουσι γόητες εἶναι*, 'they probably are rogues'. For the change of mood (*ὑποθῆται...κινδυνεύσει*), cf. ch. 70, *ἀρρώδεον, ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν...ναυμαχέειν μέλλοιεν· νικηθέντες δὲ, πολιορκήσονται*: VII. 208, *ἰδέσθαι ὁκόσοι τέ εἰσι καὶ ὅ τι ποιέοιεν.*

6. **μὴ...μήτε**—*μὴ* is again irregular, as in the preceding ch.; perhaps here it may be explained by observing that *θέλων* practically = 'trying to prevent', and verbs of preventing and the like are always followed by *μή*.

8. **χῶμα διαχοῦν**—Alexander afterwards reduced Tyre in a similar way (B.C. 332), but with extreme difficulty, as the Tyrians several times burnt and destroyed the mole.

10. **ἀρτέετο**—Cf. VII. 143, *οἱ οὐκ ἔων ναυμαχίην ἀρτέεσθαι*: VIII. 76, *ταῦτα τῆς νυκτὸς παραρτέοντο.*

12. **ἐπιστέατο**—'Felt sure', cf. VII. 218, *ἐπιστάμενοι ὡς ἐπὶ σφέας ὡρμήθησαν.*

13. **Μαρδόνιον**—Mardonius ultimately was left behind with

the land forces in Greece, while Xerxes and the fleet returned home. He was slain in the following year at Plataea.

14. **τῆς διανοίης**—The Persian defeat, although severe, was by no means a sufficient excuse for this hasty resolve on the part of Xerxes. But the personal timidity so common to Eastern monarchs overcame him, and he was only too glad to hurry home, his retreat covered by the flatteries of those who told him he had accomplished the main object of his expedition by burning Athens.

98. 1. **τε ἅμα...καὶ**—See on ch. 64.

4. **παραγίνεται**—Not the same as the simple *γίνεται*, but 'goes *to* its goal', 'travels'.

6. **λέγουσι γάρ**—For this *γὰρ* at the beginning of a story, untranslated in English, see note on VII. 4.

7. **διεστᾶσι**—'Stand at intervals': notice the compounds *ἀνίστασθαι* rise up, *ἀφίστασθαι* stand aloof, revolt, *ἐξίστασθαι* be out of one's mind (Eng. *ecstacy*), *συνίστασθαι* meet, *ὑφίστασθαι* submit.

9. **μὴ οὐ**—Note on VII. 5.

10. **τὴν ταχίστην**—sc. *ὁδὸν*, i. e. 'by the quickest way', 'with all speed', an adverbial accusative, see on *τόνδε τὸν τρόπον*, VII. 60.

12. **τὸ δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη**—Cf. ch. 8, *ὅτεῳ τρόπῳ τὸν ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη ἀπίκετο.*

14. **ἡ λαμπαδηφορίη**—There is some difficulty in understanding accurately the exact conditions of the torch-race, which was one of the most popular public games at Athens. There seems to have been a string of runners, who handed on the same torch one to another, like the messengers here. But if this was all, how could it be called a race, and who would be the winner? It has been supposed[1] that there were several chains of runners, each chain having a separate torch, and those being the winners who succeeded in first passing it to the goal still alight. Thus there would be no one individual winner, but the victors would be all the links of one chain. This interpretation agrees with the well-known line in the Agamemnon, *νικᾷ δ' ὁ πρῶτος καὶ τελευταῖος δραμών*, i.e. 'the first to take up the running and the last are victors alike', *καὶ τελευταῖος* standing for *καὶ ὁ τελευταῖος*.

[1] Liddell in Smith's Dict. of Antiquities.

ib. **τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ**—Besides this one in honour of Hephaestus, there were other torch races to Prometheus, Athena, and Pan; Prometheus and Hephaestus being specially connected with the gift of fire to man and its practical uses.

15. **ἀγγαρήϊον**—Thus Aeschylus calls the system of beacon fires which announced to Clytemnestra the capture of Troy, *ἄγγαρον πῦρ*. From the power of pressing people into their service that these couriers had, the verb *ἀγγαρεύω* has the simple meaning of 'to compel', and is thus used in S. Matt. v. 41, *ὅστις σε ἀγγηρεύσει μίλιον ἕν*: xxvii. 32, *τοῦτον ἠγγάρευσαν ἵνα ἄρῃ τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ*, 'him they compelled to bear his cross'.

99. 2. **οὕτω δή τι**—'To such an extent'; *τι* goes closely with *οὕτω*, but has not much appreciable force in translation: cf. however Herod. IV. 52, *κρήνη, οὕτω δή τι ἐοῦσα πικρή*: and its use in the phrases *ἧττόν τι*, 'somewhat less', *οὐδέν τι*, 'not at all', so *καί τι καί* in Thuc., e.g. I. 107, *καί τι καὶ ὑποψίᾳ*, 'and in part from suspicion': so *τὸ δέ τι* in the same ch., *τὸ δέ τι καὶ ἄνδρες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπῆγον*.

4. **ἱστόρεσαν**—See on VII. 54.

5. **ἦσαν ἐν**—Note on VII. 203.

7. **συνέχεε**—'Confounded', or, as we say, 'upset': cf. VII. 142, *συνεχέοντο αἱ γνῶμαι*.

8. **βοῇ τε καὶ οἰμωγῇ**—Outward signs of grief are much more common with eastern than with western nations; with us it is considered unmanly to give vent to one's emotion. Thus tears are no reproach to Achilles, when his mother finds him weeping by the sea (Il. I. 249), or to the Greeks who *παννύχιοι Πάτροκλον ἀνεστενάχοντο γοῶντες* (Il. 18. 315). Virgil, too, is quite in keeping with this feeling when he makes Aeneas confess, *obstipui steteruntque comae et vox faucibus haesit* (Aen. III. 48).

9. **ἀχθόμενοι**—For the emphatic participle, see on *ἀνατιθεὶς*, VII. 54.

10. **περὶ αὐτῷ**—Notice *περὶ* with all three cases, *περὶ τῶν νεῶν*, *περὶ αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ*, *περὶ Πέρσας*.

11. **τὸν πάντα χρόνον**—See note on *ταύτην ἡμέρην*, VII. 54.

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